GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 23 1997

Football Premiership: Chelsea 6 Sunderland 2

Chelsea flaunt their six appeal

Martin Thorpe

TO CHELSEA football is a noble art; to Sunderland it means a scrap. In the end on Sunday Peter Reid's street-fighting men had no answer to the all-round class of Ruud Gullit's heavyweights, and they face an even bigger fight against relegation as they slip towards the bottom three.

Six defeats in seven games do not inspire confidence that they can stay up, and the seven matches left do not comprise the easiest run-in among the basement teams.

"Kamikaze comes to mind," said Reid, musing on defensive errors in a game in which his side created the better early chances before allowing Chelsea enough space to go 3-0 ahead.

Sunderland rearranged their line-up, pressed Chelsea with diagonal balls and fought back to 3-2 with two goals in two minutes. But just as the equaliser looked in sight, another defensive mix-up allowed Hughes to extend Chelsea's lead. And then the floodgates opened.

In the absence of the injured Leboeuf, however, Chelsea's defending verged at times on the chaotic and Sunderland eagerly exploited this tentativeness early on.

But Chelsea's class and patience began to control a hard-fought game, with Zola and Wise both testing Perez with dipping 20-yard shots before Chelsea took the lead six minutes before half-time.

Petrescu's clever step-over and turn in the area created room for a cross which Zola imperiously volleyed past Perez. Four minutes later it was 2-0; Zola's cross found Myers and Sinclair in space on the far post and the latter's diving header found the net.

Seven minutes into the new half Chelsea went 3-0 up. Di Matteo's fine ball fed Zola, whose shot was well saved by Perez, but the unmarked Petrescu followed up with a shot into the unguarded net.

Enough was enough for Sunderland, who came back tenaciously. At half-time they had brought on Stewart up front and stuck Rae in the hole behind the front two. The rearrangement began to click — with the help of a mistake. Grodas missed Bridges's high cross, Ball found Stewart and the substitute headed home.

That was on 58 minutes. Two minutes later Chelsea failed to clear a Sunderland attack, the visitors got the break of the ball and Rae swivelled on the six-yard line to fire past Grodas.

Chelsea fans were getting flashes of the midweek game at West Ham when they had surrendered a lead and lost. But, though Sunderland stepped up their pursuit of an equaliser, they then shot themselves in the foot. Perez had already saved well from Clarke when, 12 minutes from time, Hughes pounced on a mix-up between Kelly and Melville to make it 4-2.

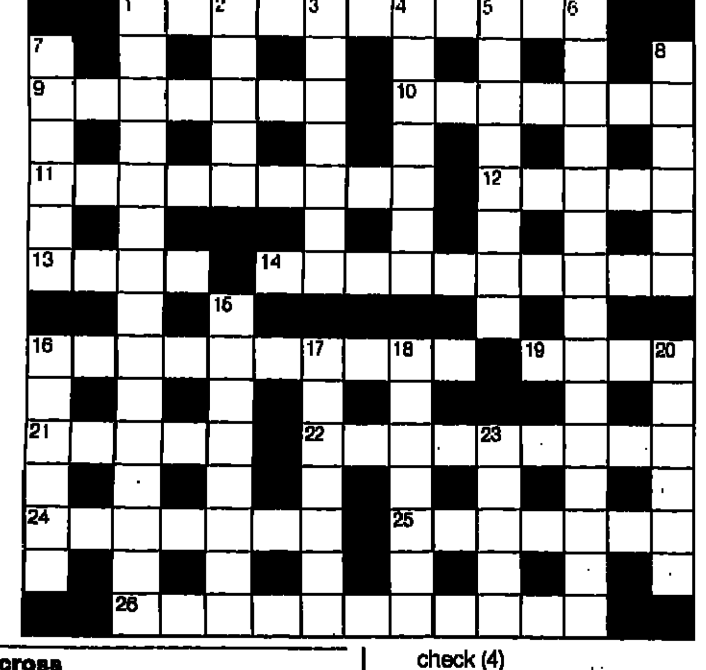
Bracewell was then caught in possession, allowing Petrescu to feed the substitute Vialli down the right; his ball inside was converted by Hughes. In injury time Sunderland's misery was completed when Petrescu fed Di Matteo, who scored No 6. It was the first time Chelsea had notched that many goals since 1990.

But it was the win which mattered, their first in five league games, to lift them nearer the Uefa Cup place which offers some insurance against losing the FA Cup semi-final against Wimbledon.



Class act . . . Zola celebrates the opening goal at Stamford Bridge PHOTOGRAPH: CLIVE BRUNSKILL

Cryptic crossword by Quantum



Across

1 Orders glue when out in supplies (11)
9 Mock light's working without oxygen (7)
10 Fence structure I used with cattle (7)
11 Offer lottery tips in a short while (9)
12 Distinctive mark X included alright (5)
13 The beano's hosts provide it (4)
14 Bananas and nuts? (10)
16 What impressionists do with inferior material? (10)
19 Send back the cakes for a check (4)
21 Find time for the healthy and fashionable (3,2)
22 Supporters of the opening at the Garden? (9)
24 This answer is until you get it (7)
25 Surprise one with sticky donuts? (7)
26 Lower docks in Europe? (11)

Down

1 One a bit short, skint miller's put in trouble (15)
2 Wood, the musicologist (5)
3 Glyn gets het up and long-winded (7)
4 Match with hard ball? Call in the field (5-2)
5 Winner of marathon does (not in restricting items) (8)
6 Attach to one's arms to maintain position (5,2,4,4)
7 Chelsea initially has edge with respect to tie (4-2)
8 Game for Poles taking place in unusual site (6)
15 Mac's the artist involved with a layer of paint (8)
16 Arrival of many people in continuous change (6)
17 Artless young girl part in genuine acting (7)
18 Clear of all charges over dance game (7)
20 Close description of doctor's manner, lacking degree? (6)
23 It helps no end when climbing (5)

Last week's solution

B A S A A R
LAUGHTER LANDAU
S E E E L A T
TEND PATRIARCHS
M P U A C E
LEGATE RANCHERO
N D N C I
TROPPO TENSER
L R L T A
BORECOLE SISKIN
L S C T T N
WINCHESTER COCK
V E S E I A O
PENNED RIPARIAN
R T S E P T

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP Aston Villa 0 West Ham 0; Blackburn 3 Wimbledon 1; Chelsea 6 Sunderland 2; Everton 1 Derby Co 0; Leicester 1 Middlesbro 3; Man Utd 2 Sheff Wed 0; Newcastle 4 Coventry 0; Nottm For 1 Liverpool 1; Southmptn 0 Arsenal 2; Tottenham 1 Leeds 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Man Utd (played 30-points 63); 2, Liverpool (30-57); 3, Arsenal (31-57)

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE First Division Crystal Pal 2 Norwich 0; Grimsby 1 Man City 1; Huddersfld 1 Portsmth 3; Ipswich 0 Bolton 1; Oldham 3 Wolves 2; Port Vale 2 Charlton 0; Reading 0 Bradford C 0; Sheff Utd 3 Oxford 1; Southend 0 QPR 1; Swindon 1 Stoke 0; Tranmere 1 Barnsley 1; West Brom 2 Birmingham 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Bolton (38-78); 2, Wolves (37-65); Barnsley (36-63).

Second Division Blackpool 2 Preston 1; Brentford 0 Burnley 3; Bristol Rvrs 1 Bristol C 2; Bury 3 Gillingham 0; Chesterfld 4 Wycombe 2, Crewe 0 Luton 0; Millwall 0 Bournemth 1; Peterboro 0 Stockport 2; Rotherham 2 Notts Co 2; Shrewsbry 2 Plymouth 3; Watford 1 Walsall 0; Wrexham 0 York 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Brentford (35-61); 2, Luton (35-58); 3, Bury (34-58).

Third Division Barnet 0 Swansea 1; Carlisle 2 Hereford 3; Darlington 1 Chester 1; Exeter 0 Sc'thorpe 1; Hartlepool 1 Rochdale 2; Hull 3 Brighton 0; Leyton O 0 Fulham 2; Northmptn 1 Lincoln 1; Scarboro 3 Torquay 1; Wigan 1 Cambridge 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Carlisle (37-73); 2, Wigan (38-71); 3, Fulham (37-71).

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE Premier Division Aberdeen 1 Dundee U 1; Celtic 0 Rangers 1; Hearts 1 Hibernian 0; Kilmarnk 1 Motherwell 0; Raith 0 Dunfmline 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Rangers (30-71); 2, Celtic (30-63); 3, Dundee Utd (30-53).

SCOTTISH LEAGUE First Division Airdrie 2 Falkirk 0; Dundee 0 St Johnstn 0; Stirling A 4 East Fife 1; St Mirren 3 Morton 1. **Leading positions:** 1, St Johnstn (29-61); 2, Airdrie (29-49); 3, Dundee (29-49).

Second Division Berwick 1 Livingston 1; Brechin 2 Clyde 1; Queen Sth 1 Hamilton 0; Stranraer 0 Ayr 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Ayr (29-65); 2, Hamilton (28-56); 3, Livingston (28-51).

Third Division Albion 2 Queens Pk 1; Cowdnbth 1 Arbroath 1; E Stirling 0 Alloa 3; Forfar 5 Montrose 3; Inverness CT 3 Ross Co 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Inverness CT (29-66); 2, Ross Co (29-50); Forfar (29-48).

Cricket SA v Australia

Australia win Waugh of nerves

Paul Weaver in Port Elizabeth

AUSTRALIA won one of the great Test matches here this week, defeating South Africa by two wickets to win the three-match series 2-0. It was South Africa's first series defeat at home since their re-admission five years ago.

There was an awful second of silence in the Australian dressing room as Healy swung a legside delivery from Cronje over backward square leg for six to win the match. Healy's leg stump is no place to bowl but by then all logic had disappeared.

Australia, chasing 270 for victory, resumed on 154 for three on Monday morning. When they reached 258 for 5, with South Africa's best bowlers in gasping retirement and with Mark Waugh on 116, they appeared to have buried their bogy of losing low-scoring matches. Then they faltered, almost fatally, losing three wickets in as many overs.

With 12 needed, Waugh's middle stump was left lolling drunkenly by a nip-backer from Kallis. In the next over, with the score on 258, Bevan was seventh out, caught by Cullinan in the slips off Cronje.

Then Healy hit a boundary and Warne a mis-timed three over mid-off; 268 for 7. With just five runs needed, Warne fell leg before to Kallis, who was threatening to bowl his side to a famous victory. Gillespie came in for what promised to be a nervy few overs, but then Healy put South Africa out of their misery with his exuberant six to give Australia their 10th win in as many matches on this tour.

The hero of the day was Waugh, who played the controlled, mean-spirited, almost mechanical innings we have come to expect from his twin brother Steve. It was his 11th Test century and afterwards he was to describe it as his finest innings in Test and first class cricket. "My 100 in Jamaica two years ago was nearly as good, but I would have to make this number one," he grinned.

Waugh did not totally compromise his attacking integrity, for there were 17 fours and a six, but he batted for five and a half hours and showed enormous patience.

Mark Taylor, Australia's captain who has been under intense pressure because of the collapse of his personal form, also dealt in superlatives. "This was the greatest Test win I've ever played in," he said. "We've won a lot of Test matches in the past eight years but nothing like this. We gave away a first innings lead of 100 on an up-and-down wicket and then South Africa were 184 ahead with all 10 wickets left . . . I can't think of another win that rates with this."

Scores: Australia 108 and 271 for 8; South Africa 209 and 168.

● New Zealand beat Sri Lanka by 120 runs in the second Test at Hamilton to clinch the series 2-0. Teenage spinner Daniel Vettori was the local hero for taking 5 for 84 — his first five-wicket Test haul — as the tourists were dismissed for 205 in the second innings with more than a day to spare.

Scores: New Zealand 222 and 273; Sri Lanka 170 and 205.

The Guardian Weekly

Vol 156, No 13
Week ending March 30, 1997

The Washington Post Le Monde

Israel sees safety put on the line

Ian Black in Tel Aviv

WHEN hundreds of Palestinian police formed a human chain and fired in the air on Monday to keep Palestinian stone throwers away from Israeli troops in Hebron, it was their first decisive act in several days to end riots in the West Bank town.

In the wake of last Friday's suicide bombing that killed three people in a Tel Aviv café, Israel has accused Yasser Arafat and his security forces — led by Colonel Jibril Rajoub — of encouraging violence against Israel, a charge denied by the Palestinians.

The bombing, claimed by the hardline Hamas movement, has revealed the fragile state of co-operation between the Israeli and Palestinian security organisations.

The Israeli prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, said a new Palestinian approach to violence was a condition for getting the peace process back on track. "There cannot be peace if this goes on," he said.

Mr Arafat and his officials deny giving the go-ahead to Hamas, which opposed the Oslo peace talks, to renew the attacks that killed 60 Israelis last year and did so much to bring Mr Netanyahu's rightwing Likud government to power.

Col Rajoub, the head of Mr Arafat's preventive security apparatus, insisted that it was "utter nonsense" to accuse the Palestinian Authority of showing a "green light" to the bombers. Yet no one denies that on the night of March 9, Mr Arafat met Hamas leaders in Gaza and later contacted the more extremist Islamic Jihad.

Mr Arafat has certainly made no secret of his fury at Mr Netanyahu's decision to send in the bulldozers to start work on the new Jewish settlement of Har Homa in East Jerusalem, designed to pre-empt negotiations on the final status of the city.

But beyond its short-term influence on the peace process, last week's atrocity illustrates Israel's dangerous dependence on Palestinian help to keep its own citizens safe.

Israeli sources admit freely that since the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank, the ability of the Shin Bet secret service to gather intelligence and forestall attacks has been badly weakened.

During the long years of Israeli rule, the structure of occupation helped maintain control: licences and permits were granted and prison terms shortened in return for intelligence. But when Col Rajoub took over, one of his first acts was to arrest and then "turn" Israeli agents.

The Tel Aviv attack was the first suicide bomb in a year. Now Israeli officials predict that more may be on the way.

An Israeli soldier confronts Palestinians armed with slingshots and stones during riots in the heart of Hebron City at the weekend

Sleaze row dominates British election

Guardian Reporters

A RATTLED Conservative leadership failed to knock sleaze off the British election agenda after the Guardian published six pages of detailed evidence last week showing that Conservative MPs received much larger sums of money than previously thought in the "cash-for-questions" scandal.

It also revealed that Tim Smith MP, a former Northern Ireland minister, had confessed to receiving undeclared cash payments from Mohamed Al Fayed before he was made a minister, and that he resigned only after the Guardian exposed him in October 1994, despite John Major knowing of the allegations against him.

There were furious exchanges and allegations in the Commons last week that the Prime Minister had prorogued Parliament for the longest period since 1918 simply to avoid embarrassing findings in the current cash-for-questions investigation emerging. The report by Sir Gordon Downey, the parliamentary commissioner for standards, was due to be completed this week but cannot be presented now that Parliament is in recess.

The Guardian revealed that Mr Smith, one of the Tory MPs at the heart of the scandal, was made a government minister despite having confessed to his chief whip that he had taken between £18,000 and £25,000 in undeclared cash payments from Mr Al Fayed, the owner of Harrods store.

He was also allowed to remain as Northern Ireland minister after Mr Major had been told that he had confessed to taking £25,000 in cash while asking questions on behalf of Mr Al Fayed in Parliament.

His confession to Sir Gordon's inquiry is one of several facts about MPs seeking re-election that the Guardian revealed last week and that would otherwise have remained locked up in a safe until well after polling day on May 1.

The report by Sir Gordon, who has been investigating MPs' alleged wrongdoings, will mark the final judgment on whether the disgraced former minister, Neil Hamilton, took tens of thousands of pounds from Mr Al Fayed to ask questions as part of a campaign against his rival, Tiny Rowland of Lonrho.

An interim report, published last week, exonerated 15 MPs who did not declare political campaign donations from Mr Greer.

Sir Gordon's inquiry was ordered by Mr Major after the last-minute withdrawal by Mr Hamilton and Mr Greer from their libel case against the Guardian last year.

Mr Major said last week he had no knowledge of the timing of the report, although last October he said on television: "It is my wish, my hope and my expectation that this will be cleared up well this side of a general election. This is what natural justice demands."

Transcripts of evidence taken in the past two months show that Mr Smith admitted taking the money in cash without any invoices or receipts and without declaring the payments specifically for tax.

Mr Major, who was told of the allegations in September 1994, allowed him to remain a minister in one of the Government's most sensitive jobs, despite confirmation on October 17 that Mr Smith had taken the money. Mr Major denied that he knew of the allegations when Mr Smith was appointed minister. He was required to resign only after the Guardian published its original cash-for-questions story.

But although Mr Major asked the Director of Public Prosecutions to investigate Mr Al Fayed for possible blackmail charges, he did not refer Mr Smith either to the DPP or Parliament's privileges committee.

After publication, Mr Major dismissed the Guardian's report as "total and complete junk".

Mr Smith is standing for re-election in Beaconsfield, where he is defending a majority of nearly 24,000. His constituency association gave him its unanimous backing when it met on Friday last week.

UK politics, page 9
Comment, page 12

English Patient storms Oscars

THE independent film The English Patient took the lion's share of the Oscars on Monday, walking away with nine Academy Awards, including best picture and best director, *writes Michael Miller.*

In the acting categories, however, the second world war romance set in the Sahara had to make do with best supporting actress for Juliette Binoche.

Best actor went to Geoffrey Rush for his portrayal of Australian pianist David Helfgott in Shine, while Frances McDormand took best actress for her portrayal of a pregnant police chief in Fargo.

"What am I doing here?" Ms McDormand said in accepting her Oscar. "Especially considering the extraordinary group of women with whom I was nominated."

It was a night of double honours for veteran producer Saul Zaentz at the 69th annual awards gala presented by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. In addition to winning best picture for The English Patient, he was presented with the Irving G Thalberg award for his considerable body of work.

An ovation was given to David Helfgott, who played some of the music from Shine.

Oscar night was also independents night, with independent studios taking seven of the eight major awards. — *Reuter*

Austria	AS30	Malta	50c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.75
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 450	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF 3.30

Chile offers poor model for UK pensions reform

THE Government's new pensions scheme is said to draw its inspiration from Chile where, according to the Adam Smith Institute, "it has brought enormous dividends". In fact, privatisation of pensions is getting into problems everywhere in the world.

According to a report on privatisation by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, there is little evidence that promises have been delivered. In Chile it has resulted in only 52 per cent of the workforce being covered for benefits. And many of these "will end up with acquired benefits less than the guaranteed minimum".

High marketing costs were "making the commissions more expensive than they need to be", the transitional costs had been very heavy, and there was no clear evidence of any boost to savings — quite apart from the poverty caused.

The UN agency, which is disposed towards privatisation, calls for a mixed system of pay-as-you-go and individual schemes, with flat-rate and earnings-related components for everyone being provided by the state and jointly providing 30 to 40 per cent of average earnings.

This happened to be the modest objectives of the British all-party approach in the mid-1970s, permitting substantial private topping-up of pensions. Just when international authorities are abandoning the pretence that state schemes of a minimally adequate kind are neither sustainable nor desirable, it is ironic that the Government is adopting a proposal which will impoverish millions of future pensioners.

Peter Townsend,
Emeritus Professor of Social Policy, University of Bristol, Bristol

TONY LYNES (Pensions plan with holes in it, March 16) is certainly breaching the Trades Descriptions Act when he extols the "security" of the state pension scheme. In fact, the system has been a fraud ever since Lloyd George set it up. The average married man today gets a return of under 2 per cent on what he pays into the state scheme, a single person roughly zero, and those above average earnings a negative return. It is not even as secure as keeping your money under the bed.

Like chain-letters, the state pension system cannot last indefinitely. Peter Lilley is due at least some credit for squaring up to the problem.

It is not mis-selling by the private sector that future generations have to fear. Their £9 plus 5 per cent will be going into something nearer to a tax-free building society account than the complicated pensions products of today — something so straightforward it does not have to be "sold".

No, the real threat of mis-selling comes from entrusting our future pension provision to whichever band of politicians happens to be in power when we retire.

(Dr) Eamonn Butler,
Adam Smith Institute, London

Flexible minds for better aid

ROBERT LACVILLE'S Letter from Bamako (February 16) was as laced with "ethnocentric prejudice" as the thesis title of the US student he ridicules. He openly displays his prejudices toward feminist or social science academics from the English-speaking "Western" world, and because of these biases fails to understand this work and why this might be of relevance to the women of Bamako for whom he obviously cares.

The term "gender analysis" has not superseded "women in development" for trendiness, but because it is acknowledged that the targeting of women in development projects may be just as detrimental as the previously male-centred approach often proved. Yes, women's hard work is due to poverty, but so often interventions designed to help them have had unforeseen and unhelpful effects due to ignorance on the part of those intervening. Gender (as much as class, race or age) analyses are tools to help avoid this.

The sort of assumptions that Lacville makes, eg, that childcare and vegetable gardening are "spare-time activities" (rather than an essential, culturally defined social service, and a way of providing cheap, nutritious food) betray his own cultural and gender biases. They are typical of the attitudes of entrenched, defensive development workers who consider that relatively new disciplines that look at equity and equality have nothing to teach them.

He may feel smug about his financial support of women in the area, but surely he must realise that this is a drop in the ocean compared with the support that is needed. While on arrival the US doctoral student may have made some naive assumptions and was ill-equipped to question Malian women, the sort of work she will carry out may eventually help to stimulate the sort of rural credit schemes or artisanal employment he supports.

Mali and the world in general surely need more people who remain flexible in their attitudes to new ideas rather than those who judge people on their colour and gender, and the time of day they arrive.

Dawn Robinson,
Chetumal, Quintana Roo, Mexico

Odd ruling on police damages

ALAN TRAVIS'S article (Ceiling placed on police damages, March 2), suggests some very strange principles behind the Court of Appeal guidelines. If, for example, the awards are "not to punish the police officer", why should there be a higher award for abuse from a superintendent? And if the award is to compensate the victim why should he be paid according to the rank of who punched his kidneys?

Further, if the award is to compensate the victim, then £500 for the first hour of illegal detention with a reducing rate thereafter is ridiculous. If I were held for one hour, then released, hopefully unabused and perhaps with an apology, then little damage is done. But if I were held for, say, 48 hours, I would be unable to attend to my business or my family and may also suffer social stigma, therefore the compensation should increase per hour as the illegal detention continues.

"Compensation is not to punish the police officer". Why not? Many people in responsible positions are held directly liable for their behaviour and many carry liability insurance. Even motorists have to do so. Police officers might reasonably be required to take out personal liability insurance, be subject to no-claims bonuses with surcharges for high risk groups and pay the premiums from their own pockets. Claims against them would be scrutinised by insurance adjusters. No expensive commissions of inquiry would be necessary and the public purse would be greatly relieved.

Finally, why does Sir Paul Condon "attempt to halt the growth in civil cases brought by victims of police misconduct", when it is the misconduct he should be addressing. Perhaps the problem starts high up?

Eric Smith,
St John's Antigua, West Indies

Wool pulled over our eyes

WE NOW have the technology not only to clone humans from those alive, but also from those who have died from cells removed and grown in culture or frozen. Tens of thousands of such cell banks exist worldwide. Dolly was cloned from frozen cells which, in theory, could have been preserved for many years before use — long after the death of the donor. It is quite wrong that we were only informed of this latest step seven months after creation of the clones. The time to discuss these matters is before work begins. This project has been dominated by obsessive secrecy.

What other disturbing steps have already been taken, that we will not be told about until it is far too late? What about the sheep which are pregnant right now? What strange creations are they carrying "for medical research"?

What is needed is a Gene Charter: international laws covering not only cloning but also germ warfare with smart viruses, scorpion poison genes added to cabbages and gene screening for insurance. We urgently need gene technology to fight disease and feed the world, but we need to ask what kind of world we are creating now we have the ability to alter the very basis of life itself.

(Dr) Patrick Dixon,
Director, Global Change Ltd, London

Don't boost the pianist

HAS Andrew Scott (On a sliding scale, March 2) attended any of David Helfgott's concerts? As a professional critic, I first reviewed him in 1986, then again in 1988, both times in Adelaide, South Australia. My first response was sympathy for the man and tolerance for his behaviour and his wild playing. My second was disgust on all counts.

I heard him again last October, but chose not to review. Just as well. The "great goofy grin" is not loveable to anyone who cares about music. I left at the interval.

Scott is right to compare Helfgott to Nigel Kennedy. Both have exploited the public passion for novelty. The difference is that Kennedy continued to play superbly in his Pearly King suit, whereas Helfgott's playing is just awful in its disregard for anything but the notes.

Scott is wrong to claim that both Kennedy and Helfgott have taken "classical music to a new audience". Kennedy brought a new audience to Kennedy, Helfgott to Helfgott. Three weeks after Helfgott played to full houses in the Adelaide Town Hall, Leslie Howard drew no more than 300 people to a superb recital of very similar repertoire.

Elizabeth Silsbury,
Adelaide, South Australia

Briefly

CAN anyone remember why the US insists on pursuing its economic embargo against Cuba? Could it be that it just cannot abide the fact that Cuba insists that its sovereignty be respected and is prepared to defend the interests of its people? Or is it merely "personal" after 37 years?

I suggest that we coin a new word to capture the spirit of US governments since 1959: "Antifidelantics", infantile, irrational persecution of one nation by another to the detriment of the populations of both.

Rob Pates,
Charlottesville, Virginia, USA

COME on, Adrian Searle! Paula Rego's pictures in the Tate Liverpool Retrospective "illustrate the sexuality of children" (Animal magic, February 23)? It is not the natural sexuality of children that leads to sexual contact between children and animals. It is damaged adults who force this contact to get relief from their own unresolved histories of sexual victimisation.

I was a child victim of bestiality and am a psychiatric social worker with 19 years of experience in the field of child abuse. It is of paramount importance that the reality be portrayed accurately, even in art reviews. Otherwise, we have no hope of stopping the sexual victimisation of children.

Georgina Cavendish,
Olympia, Washington, USA

IT IS reassuring to read that the Beatles didn't smoke a joint in the Buckingham Palace toilets while receiving the OBE (Yesterday seems so far away, March 23). Jolly good joke, though.

When Mick Jagger gets his big K for services to humanity, doubtless he'll let it be known he never smoked nuffink and was always a regular gent with his lady friends. Alexis Korner told a different story, as did John Lennon and Peter Tosh.

Mike Rose,
Tugun, Queensland, Australia

BSE, *E. coli*, salmonella, cancers, heart disease, filth, cross-contamination, etc, etc (Britain's dirty slaughterhouses, March 16). Surely the real question to ask is not which reports have been suppressed, but why do many otherwise responsible parents continue to put their children at risk by feeding them any product of an abattoir?

Dr Philip Sleigh,
Christow, Exeter

MARTIN WOOLLACOTT (March 9) referred to the "Lepénisation" of French politics. Surely a more appropriate word would be "Lepénetration"?

Les West,
Karrinyup, Western Australia

The Guardian Weekly
March 30, 1997 Vol 156 No 13

Annual subscription rates are £49 United Kingdom; £55 Europe inc. Eire, USA and Canada; £63 Rest of World.
Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.
Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985).
e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk

EU plans to send troops to Albania

John Palmer in Brussels

A COALITION of European Union countries, led by Italy, is ready to dispatch 3,000 troops and police to protect a huge international humanitarian mission to Albania.

But the Albanian president, Sali Berisha, said on Tuesday he could not guarantee the safety of humanitarian aid convoys.

After the Albanian government warned that food reserves could run out within days, EU foreign ministers meeting in Brussels gave a cautious blessing to such a mission if it proved necessary to "create a secure environment for the safe provision of international assistance".

The move came as Italy decided to turn away boats bringing a flood of Albanians to its ports amid mounting evidence that those who have set out to reach Italy in recent days are not genuine refugees from armed unrest but illegal immigrants looking for a better life. On Monday, Italy's prime minister, Romano Prodi, reached an agreement with his Albanian counterpart, Bashkim Fino, on conducting naval patrols in the Adriatic to halt the flow, which has risen to nearly 12,000 since March 13.

Most of the troops and police for the mission will be provided by Italy but there may also be contingents from France, Greece, Spain, Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands.

"There is a coalition of the willing ready to provide forces to protect the aid-givers," said the Dutch foreign minister, Hans van Mierlo, who chaired Monday's meeting. "France is ready to support such a mission to Albania," the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, declared.

The mandate for the force will be decided only after further consultation with the authorities in Tirana. But EU diplomats said it might be used to secure the Adriatic port of Durres and the airport in Tirana. It may also be used to help to defend EU and international aid missions and to work with the Albanian army and police to protect food and medical supplies. Italy flew in supplies to Albania on Monday.

EU foreign ministers stressed that the mixed military and police force was not aimed at keeping the peace between the Albanian factions but to support the army and police. "This is not a peacekeeping mission. We are talking about a mission to secure the distribution of food and other supplies that are urgently needed by the people of Albania," one EU diplomat said.

Britain and Germany, which have peacekeeping troops deployed in the former Yugoslavia, said they would not be taking part. "No one is talking any longer about military intervention in the Albanian political situation," the British foreign secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, said. "There may be a need for a force to protect aid organisations, although the International Red Cross has said it does not want military protection."

Other EU foreign ministers spoke of the force being planned as an example of the "a coalition of the willing" foreseen for other European security missions in future.

The European Commission, which will co-ordinate aid the dispatch and distribution of humanitarian aid, has already positioned supplies of food and medicine in Italy and Bosnia.

Dr Philip Nitschke, who helped four people to die, with his euthanasia equipment

Australia ends assisted suicide

Christopher Zinn in Sydney

THE Australian parliament has overturned the world's first and only euthanasia law, nine months after the Northern Territory introduced it to let the terminally ill commit assisted suicide.

Under the legislation, four people had been helped to their deaths using a computer programme that delivered a lethal injection 30 seconds after they affirmed their desire to die by typing on a keyboard.

Philip Nitschke, a doctor based in Darwin who helped all four die, burned a copy of the new bill outside Parliament House in Canberra on Monday after the senate voted 38-33 to override the Northern Territory's Rights of the Terminally Ill Act.

A campaigner for euthanasia, Dr Nitschke accused parliament of betraying the terminally ill, particularly two people preparing to die. They had completed the strict legal requirements to win the right to assisted suicide. An amendment to exempt them from Monday's decision failed.

Dr Nitschke predicted a battle to restore euthanasia to the statute books. He said the legislation had been shown to be viable. "It didn't spell the end of the world; the sky didn't collapse; we got workable legislation. Opponents of this progressive change can never again say that this law doesn't work. The world will never be the same again."

The bill must be signed by the governor-general, William Deane, to become law. Dr Nitschke said two people would write to Mr Deane pleading for him to delay his signature so they can kill themselves legally. "They would ask for there to be some delay, perhaps for a week or two," he said.

Robert Marr, from the Coalition for Voluntary Euthanasia, said polls showed three-quarters of Australians supported the Northern Territory's law. He predicted the medical profession would ignore its repeal.

"I know euthanasia goes on every day in our hospitals for compassionate reasons. I believe what the euthanasia debate was about was giving patients a right to legally request and receive medical assistance to end their suffering, and patients today want that right."

Euthanasia had never before had any legal footing anywhere in the world. In the United States, a federal court blocked a voluntary euthanasia law from taking effect in Oregon, despite its approval in a 1995 referendum. Similar measures were defeated in Washington state in 1991 and a year later in California. Dutch doctors may perform mercy killings within strict legal guidelines, but euthanasia is technically illegal.

Last November, Canberra's house of representatives voted by an 85-35 majority to back Liberal backbencher Kevin Andrews's bill, demanding that parliament use its powers to overturn the Northern Territory's law. Although legal, Mr Andrews's bill broke convention by intervening in the territory's affairs. The move would not have been possible if any of the six other autonomous Australian states had passed the legislation.

Among those backing the bill was the prime minister, John Howard. He told parliament in December: "There have got to be some absolutes in life, and respect for human life is one of those."

The legislation to allow euthanasia was enacted in the Northern Territory last July. It was proposed by a former chief minister whose mother had died in pain after a long illness.

Terminally ill people needed the support of three doctors, including a psychiatrist, before they could gain permission to die. People travelled to the territory to take advantage of its law.

Sect children chose not to die

Anne McIlroy in Ottawa and Paul Webster in Paris

THREE teenagers whose parents and three other members of the Solar Temple death cult committed suicide at the weekend had been given the choice of living or dying, Quebec police said on Monday.

Police found the charred bodies of the three women and two men on Saturday last week in a house owned by a member of the Solar Temple, an international sect that believes death by ritualised suicide leads to rebirth in a place called Sirius.

The house was owned by two of the victims, Didier Queze and his wife, Chantale Goupillot, both aged 39, whose bodies were found laid out on a bed with another couple in the form of a cross.

As firefighters fought the blaze last weekend, the three teenage children of Queze and Goupillot emerged dazed and shaky from a nearby shed. They appeared heavily drugged and asked anxiously about their parents' fate.

Police said the children, a 14-year-old girl and two boys aged 13 and 16, had told them that their parents had asked them whether they wanted to join the group suicide, which cult members believed was a "departure" to another world. The children had chosen "to take refuge outside the house", Mathias Tellier, a spokesman for the provincial police force, said.

"The children took sleeping pills, to lessen their pain or sadness over what was happening inside the house."

The three others who died were Suzanne Druau, Goupillot's 63-year-old mother; Bruno Klaus, aged 49; and Pauline Rioux, aged 54.

In France and Switzerland, police continued a surveillance operation on known Solar Temple members on Monday. The deaths brought the number of suicides among cult members to 74.

In October 1994, 48 people killed themselves in Switzerland and five people were found dead north of Montreal, and in December 1995 another 16 were found dead in a forest in eastern France.

Pope speaks up on East Timor sovereignty

John Aglionby in Jakarta

THE Pope last week added his voice to the growing pressure on President Suharto of Indonesia to find a prompt and "internationally acceptable" solution to the problem of East Timor's sovereignty.

As he installed a second Roman Catholic bishop in the territory, he told a crowd of 20,000 people that he hoped "a broad and truly just" solution could be found.

The United Nations has refused to recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976.

The Pope's comments contrasted with the low-key congratulations he sent to the Catholic Bishop of Dili, Carlos Belo, last year when he was jointly made Nobel peace laureate with the East Timorese independence fighter Jose Ramos Horta.

The Pope's newly appointed special envoy to the territory, Jamsheed Marker, is due in East Timor on Saturday.

In Indonesia, President Suharto has been silencing his critics and curtailing democracy in the run-up to the general election on May 29.

● St Michael will soon be busy. The archangel, represented in early Christian art as the guardian of paradise, has given his name to the computer system defending the Vatican's new Website, due to start on Easter Sunday. Some 1,200 documents in six languages will be available at http://www.vatican.va

The site is expected to be a magnet for hackers, and St Michael will have his work cut out protecting it from viruses and other evil spirits of cyberspace.

Crackdown on Buddhists

BURMESE security forces are arresting Buddhist monks in Rangoon to contain a wave of attacks on mosques and Muslim property, *reports Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok*.

Monks kept up scattered anti-Muslim demonstrations in Rangoon on Monday. Diplomats say there have been up to 10 incidents since the trouble started on Friday last week.

Security forces, responding to weekend attacks that saw monks, sometimes joined by laymen, stoning mosques and other property, have arrested more than 100 monks, unconfirmed reports say.

By some accounts, troops are taking detained monks to Rangoon race course, used in the past as a holding centre for those held by security forces for questioning.

A curfew is in force in the northern city of Mandalay, where the violence started last week after the rape of a Buddhist woman by a Muslim man. Up to eight other cities are said to have introduced curfews.

Burma's military rulers are "in a real dilemma", a diplomat in Rangoon said. The junta does not wish to crack down too hard on the Buddhist clergy, whom it has tried to co-opt to reinforce its own fragile legitimacy. At the same time, it needs to be seen to be protecting Muslims.

Save the rhino, page 5

Zaire dying slowly with its leader

Chris McGreal in Kinshasa

THE GATEKEEPER shakes his head in despair at mention of the leopards of President Mobutu Park. No one fed them, he says, and one by one they disappeared, along with the lions and rhinos. Only a few starving monkeys remain, and the plump crocodiles for which meat is unaccountably found.

The park named after President Mobutu Sese Seko was once a flamboyant playground in his honour on the banks of the Zaire river. Visitors were welcomed to its exotic zoo and water theme park. And in the middle of the park sat the headquarters of the only political party once permitted in Zaire.

But, like all else touched by Zaire's ailing autocrat, it has fallen into ruin. Water to the slides dried up. The animals withered away. The road to the zoo is all but impassable.

And he, apparently, wants little to do with them. Zaire's sick ruler of 32 years flew home last week from cancer treatment in France, helpless to stop the advance of Laurent Kabila's rebels across a country which Mobutu has turned into a vast version of his dysfunctional park.

Leon Kengo wa Dondo resigned within days of Mobutu's return. The president had reportedly accepted a parliamentary vote last week that ousted the man he hand-picked as prime minister.

Mobutu, once so feared and admired, is now derided and openly scorned. Yet even though he is near powerless and close to death, his return to Zaire sends a shudder through the population.

Some among the masses of poor, such as cobbler Gerard Bolombe, who works 18 hours a day on a Kinshasa street corner, believe they will never be rid of him. "Mobutu doesn't just go to France and die, he keeps coming back to haunt us. He hangs over our country like a ghost. Even if we bury him in the ground, even if we burn his body and grind it to nothing, we will never escape Mobutu. His gravestone is our destroyed country."

The rebels occupy about a quarter of Zaire. They are still hundreds of miles from Kinshasa, but so great is the air of defeatism in Mobutu's regime they might be pressing at the gates of the capital.

Many of those who have reason to fear the rebels are not waiting. Politicians and businessmen are shuffling their families across the water to Congo. Even some of Mobutu's relatives have fled. Flights to Brussels and Beirut are booked solid with Europeans and Lebanese diamond dealers.

Others, including Kithima Bin Ramazani, general secretary of Mobutu's Popular Revolutionary Movement (MPR) for the 22 years it was the only legal political party, are staying to join in the last scramble for money. "People don't know what they want. Just a few years ago Mobutu was their idol. Then suddenly he was a dictator and should go. It doesn't surprise me. Whoever the next president is, he will be in office one or two years, then they'll all miss Mobutu," he said.

There was a time when Mobutu could call Zaire his own. He named the country and the giant river coursing from its heart. He defined its politics in his own image, and styled himself the Father of the Nation. But Zaire's decline was not the byproduct of a misguided policy, as elsewhere in Africa. It was the deliberate wrecking of a country to satisfy the greed of an élite, and a strategy to undermine any challenge to Mobutu's rule.

His personal fortune runs into billions of dollars. Mobutu owned 11 palaces in Zaire alone — until the rebels started to seize them — and property from Cape Town to Paris.

Supposedly protecting this élite was the greatest illusion of all, Zaire's army. Within days of independence in 1960, the army mutinied. In the ensuing anarchy the country got its first taste of the army on a rampage. Soldiers arrested their Belgian officers, and white colonists fled in their thousands.

The new government tried to calm the revolt by promoting every soldier. For a while it was the only army in the world without a single private. Now that time seems a relative golden age.

To most people today the army is an occasional instrument of terror. More often it is an organised crime syndicate. Its senior officers made vast sums from weapons deals and running protection rackets for diamond dealers and foreign businessmen, or their own smuggling operations.

Ordinary soldiers were given a uniform and a gun and told to make a living as best they could. Robbery was the obvious method. The soldiers say they have little choice. Even their pathetic wages of about $3 a month are paid sporadically.

The army was never prepared for war. Mobutu saw little threat from outside his borders. If one loomed, the French, Americans or Belgians would always be at hand to stave it off. But Mobutu met his match with Zaire's tiny neighbour, Rwanda. After the Tutsi rebels won the war in 1994 and put an end to genocide, Mobutu sided with the Hutu extremists. He allowed them to camp on his soil, to continue to persecute Tutsis, and to plot to reinvade Rwanda. But this time he had misjudged his opponent.

Rwanda's army is part of a new breed of African military, with relatively disciplined troops, trained to fight, with a cause to fight for, underpinned by a revolutionary philosophy contemptuous of the generation that took Africa to independence.



An ailing President Mobutu makes his first public appearance in Kinshasa for months. He flew home from France to meet the South African deputy president, Thabo Mbeki PHOTO: REMY DE LA MAUVINIERE

The Week

THE oil giant Shell said 127 of its workers in Nigeria were being held captive after an attack on five oil pumping stations by protesters involved in a local political dispute.

CANADIAN immigration officials have detained two Saudi Arabians in connection with the bombing in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, last summer that killed 19 American airmen and injured 500 others.

VICE-PRESIDENT Al Gore, on a visit to Beijing, witnessed a signing ceremony in which Boeing clinched a $685 million order from Air China for five jets, and General Motors a pact with Shanghai Automobile Industries that will spur some $1.5 billion in US exports of machinery in the next five years.

TAMIL separatists attacked a convoy of military cargo ships off Sri Lanka's coast on Monday, sparking a battle in which at least 80 guerrillas and one sailor died, according to army officials.

BELGIAN police arrested a woman on suspicion of helping her lover kidnap a 12-year-old girl more than seven years ago.

AT LEAST 10 million lives will be saved over the next 10 years by close supervision of TB patients to ensure that they regularly take the drugs given to them for six months, predicts the World Health Organisation.
Washington Post, page 16

PRESIDENT Clinton has nominated the acting CIA director, George Tenet, to be the permanent chief of the spy agency, replacing the previous nominee, Anthony Lake, who withdrew his nomination.

THE US Senate overwhelmingly approved a delicately balanced compromise to continue President Clinton's certification of Mexico as an ally in fighting illegal drugs while criticising its performance and setting goals for progress.

THE 11-year investigation into the assassination of Sweden's prime minister Olof Palme is to be reopened after allegations that Lars Tingstrom, acquitted of the murder, apparently disclosed on his deathbed that he had been responsible. His original target had been King Carl XVI Gustaf.

THE first truckload of supplies under the United Nations oil-for-food programme arrived in Iraq, UN officials said.

WILLEM de Kooning, considered one of the greatest artists of his time, has died in New York, aged 92.
Obituary, page 27

PNG crisis still simmers

Michael Perry in Port Moresby

PAPUA New Guinea's prime minister Sir Julius Chan survived a parliamentary motion calling on him to stand aside on Tuesday, but army-backed protesters kept up the pressure over the mercenary fiasco.

After a week of setbacks for Sir Julius, parliament voted 58 to 39 against a motion which urged Chan and two close aides to step down while an inquiry was held into the contract for mercenaries to put down an island uprising.

Sir Julius himself took the floor only once in a rowdy five-hour debate, saying he had hired almost 70 African mercenaries to prevent more PNG soldiers dying on the island of Bougainville.

"Sometimes you have to make decisions in the best interests of the security of the nation and we made this decision and will not compromise that decision." Sir Julius said. "I had to put the lives of our soldiers on Bougainville first."

The PNG crisis began last week when the army chief, Brigadier-General Jerry Singirok, demanded that the mercenary contract be terminated and that Sir Julius, the deputy prime minister, and defence minister resign.

Gen Singirok was promptly sacked but remains in control of the army. His sacking led to violent street protests which saw former colonial power Australia put troops on standby to evacuate around 10,000 Australian nationals.

Gen Singirok repeated a demand that Sir Julius quit and set a deadline of Tuesday, but that deadline apparently passed without any action from the army.

The defence minister, Mathias Ijape, said the Sandline contract made financial and military sense. He blamed Australia and New Zealand for refusing to supply the PNG defence force with helicopter gunships and other military hardware it needed to beat the Bougainville rebels. — *Reuter*

UN unveils plans for reform

Mark Tran in New York

THE overhaul of the world's most exclusive diplomatic club began last week as Ismail Rizali, president of the United Nations general assembly, unveiled a plan to enlarge the Security Council.

Mr Rizali, Malaysia's ambassador to the UN, set an ambitious timetable for council reform, hoping to wrap up the matter by this time next year.

His proposal calls for the creation of five new permanent members: two industrialised countries, Germany and Japan, and one each from Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. There would also be four new non-permanent members: one each from Africa, Asia, eastern Europe and Latin America.

The present council is composed of five permanent members — the US, Britain, France, Russia and China — and 10 rotating non-permanent members. Only the permanent five enjoy the power of veto.

The new permanent members, under the plan, will not have the power of veto. Mr Rizali also proposes that the current permanent members limit their veto to votes involving the use of force under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, a move that Britain and its fellow permanent members are certain to resist.

Sir John Weston, Britain's ambassador to the UN, warmly welcomed the broad aim of the proposal.

While there is agreement over adding the two losers of the second world war to the council, both Germany and Japan are certain to insist that they enjoy veto power and not be relegated to second-class status.

The sparks are sure to fly among developing countries as to who should attain permanent member status. Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa will fight to represent Africa. India, Pakistan and Indonesia are the obvious candidates from Asia, while Brazil and Argentina will vie for membership.

Save the rhino, but kill the people

Rangoon wants a reserve. So do conservationists. Shame about the villagers. **Adrian Levy** and **Cathy Scott-Clark** in Burma and **David Harrison** report

WE FOUND them deep in the Burmese jungle, east of the Tenasserim river. About 2,000 of them, hungry, exhausted and fearing for their lives. They have no money, no change of clothes, and they eat what food they find. They sleep under palm leaves propped teepee-style against the trees. A sickly child is crying. An old woman sobs endlessly. Saw Lyi, aged 56, holds out his hands: "We do not know what to do. We do not know what will happen to us."

Saw Lyi knows he will not be going home. He and thousands of the Karen ethnic group, a gentle, cultured and religious people, have been driven out of their homes by the Burmese army. He also knows that in a strange way he is lucky, because he made it to the jungle, starving and homeless but alive.

Hundreds of people, including Saw's son, a father of six, have been murdered in the two months since the army launched its offensive to crush the Karen, according to human rights groups, which base their evidence on independent research, including hundreds of eyewitness accounts. Tens of thousands have been forced to work, unpaid and unfed, building roads and railways, and 30,000 have fled into the jungle or across the border to Thailand.

Why? Because the Burmese army is razing entire Karen villages, killing, raping, enslaving, to make way for the biggest nature reserve of its kind in the world. Dwarfing the Masai Mara and the Serengeti in East Africa, it is home to rare flora and fauna, tigers, elephants and the Sumatran rhinoceros. It will attract millions of tourists. Most importantly, it will be a sign to the world that Burma, shunned because of its appalling human rights record, cares about endangered wildlife and the environment.

All the Rangoon government needed was a few major international conservation organisations to turn a blind eye to atrocities committed against an irksome ethnic minority. It got them from the top drawer of wildlife protection: the New York-based Wildlife Conservation Society and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

It also claimed to have "an open channel of communication" with the Worldwide Fund for Nature International, whose patron is Prince Philip.

The junta running Burma was thrilled — as we discovered when, after our dispiriting trek into the jungle, we made for Rangoon to see if a minister would talk about the project and the role of those conservation giants. The two-storey forestry ministry squats at the end of a long tree-lined road in the Burmese capital. It is part of a complex of ministries run by the State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slorc) and a stone's throw from the home of Burma's most famous dissident, Aung San Suu Kyi, who is under virtual house arrest.

Security is tight, more so since a bomb exploded in Rangoon three months ago. The ministry was surrounded by barbed wire and bougainvillaea. A dozen soldiers, bayonets glinting in the sun, stopped us at the first roadblock. We had dressed in khaki and boots to add plausibility to our guise as environmental researchers from a British university, but we had no appointment, no letter of introduction.

The soldiers were suspicious but sent us on to the next roadblock to put our case to the military intelligence officers, sinister figures in pale blue uniforms and reflector sunglasses. But they seemed to buy our story and we were ushered into a spartan office, where two senior ministry figures received us with a mixture of scepticism and delight that respectable British scientists were interested in their "big idea".

One introduced himself as Ye Myint, adviser to the forestry minister. Eager to impress, he boasted of Slorc's plans to establish a "unique" million-hectare "biosphere", the Myinmoletkat Nature Reserve, in the Karen area, one of the semi-independent regions set up just before Britain pulled out of Burma in 1948. "We hope the reserve will win world heritage status," he enthused.

The reserve would also encompass a section of a gas pipeline being constructed by Total and Unocal, the French and American oil companies, which signed deals with the Burmese to pump gas from the Andaman Sea in the west to Thailand in the east. Human rights groups say forced labour is being used on the project.

Ye Myint told us of another "exciting" project, the Lanbi Island Marine National Park, off the southern Burmese coast. Coral islands would be transformed into an "eco-tourism venture" in the first stage of a grand plan to open the entire 200-mile Mergui archipelago to mass tourism and scientific study.

HIS COLLEAGUE Aung Din, a senior policy adviser, described how international environmentalists were lending the Slorc their expertise and reputations. The Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) and the Smithsonian Institution were helping to run both projects, he said.

He showed us a programme from a WWF conference in Rangoon last month. Delegates at the Asian Elephants Specialist Group's seven-day conference included WWF representatives and the curator of Chester Zoo. WWF-UK, the organisation's British section, contributed £2,000 towards the cost.

As we left, Dr Alan Rabinowitz, a senior scientist from the WCS, arrived to meet the same officials. We were told Dr Rabinowitz had established a management committee for the Lanbi Island project and, along with other scientists from the Smithsonian, was also running training programmes and conducting wildlife surveys. Dr Rabinowitz was there to update officials and finalise plans for an expedition to upper Burma last week, part of a worldwide research and conservation programme that has taken the New York-based WCS to 52 countries.

The WCS and the Smithsonian are the first non-governmental groups to have worked with the Slorc since the Rangoon massacres of 1988, when 3,000 demonstrators were killed by police and troops during riots that led to the ousting of President Sein Lwin.

Later that day, we talked to other officials. Aung Than, director of forestry for the Tenasserim Division, spoke of the ministry's "open channel of communication with the WWF". He said the WWF had discussed the new nature reserves with the Slorc, encouraged Burma to become a member of the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species, and made an "exploratory mission" to Burma.

When we asked if we could visit the new sites to conduct an audit of the rare and endangered species, we were told: "I'm afraid that will not be possible at the moment. You must be aware we have problems in this area. There is a large security operation going on. Mopping up must finish before anything else can begin."

Mopping up. That chilling phrase appears frequently in Burma's state-controlled press. It refers to the forced removal of "troublesome elements". That includes members of the Karen ethnic minority, who object to their homes being torched and their families killed or forced to flee to the jungle.

This contempt for human life was not evident last September at the launch ceremony for the Myinmoletkat Nature Reserve, held in Rangoon. Dr Kyaw Tint, director-general of Forestry, assured guests that the welfare of local inhabitants would be paramount. Not only would rare species be protected but the lives of the rural poor would be improved.

Three months later, soldiers of the Tatmadaw, the Slorc's military wing, arrived at Saw Lyi's paddy fields at his village north of Mergui. The 56-year-old grandfather was marched to a makeshift football field with the other villagers and told to leave within 24 hours or be shot.

He told his story, typical of the fate of thousands, at his jungle hide-out, surrounded by his dead son's children and widow and other despairing relatives. "I was tied to a bamboo post with Saw Kri, my son, and hit twice in the face with a rifle butt. The soldiers punched and kicked him for about 30 minutes until he passed out. Then they killed him with a bayonet," he said.

We had been smuggled into the Tenasserim Division area by members of the Karen National Liberation Army, who are resisting the Slorc slaughter. An isolated Asian frontier-land, cut through with verdant river valleys and wrapped in dense jungle, the Tenasserim already has wildlife sanctuaries established by indigenous groups.

The brutal offensive began in February, after troops of the newly formed Coastal Military Command, led by Brigadier-General Thura Thihathura Sit Maung, had massed at both ends of the Division. Human rights monitors, who have interviewed refugees fleeing from the area and visited the region themselves, say more than 2,000 have been killed, 30,000 have been evicted from their homes and as many forced to work for the Slorc in the past 18 months.

In a village south of the Total pipeline, Mi Aye, aged 34, a mother of seven, told how women were raped by soldiers guarding forced labour projects: "They raped many women, but Mi Thein, one of the girls, was raped so many times she died. She was just 15 years old."

As well as gathering scores of first-hand accounts, we were shown orders issued by the Tatmadaw to village leaders, commandeering men and women for work. One stated: "If you do not come this time you will be attacked with artillery."

ONE NGO report said: "Several thousand villagers are being used every day as forced labour. Children as young as 12, people over 60 and women still breast-feeding are forced to haul dirt, build embankments and break rocks."

Stories are emerging of killings and disappearances on Lanbi and other islands in the Mergui archipelago. An elder from a village near Mergui said: "We received reports of 140 deaths between October and December. On Lanbi Island, we were told that many had died." Western diplomats in Rangoon and human rights organisations are investigating the reports.

While inquiries into the killings and disappearances continue, the Burmese government is selling the archipelago as a "re-emerging lost island paradise" — and the conservation groups are winning the battle with their conscience.

Josh Ginsberg, science director at the Wildlife Conservation Society in New York, said: "We do not sanction forced relocation, torture or killings. But we have no control over the government.

A spokesman for the Smithsonian Institution said: "We are there to do important conservation work. We may disagree with a regime but it is not our place to challenge it."

Robin Pellew, director of WWF-UK, said WWF had done an elephant survey in Burma in 1992, a wildlife survey last year and planned to do a "quick and dirty" tiger survey in the future. It had discussed the Lanbi nature reserve with Burmese officials, but had decided not to get involved. The WWF currently had no projects in Burma and no formal relationship with the Burmese authorities.

"Sometimes we have to deal with repulsive regimes," he said. "We have to weigh up whether the conservation benefit is worth the risk of being seen, directly or indirectly, to be supporting those regimes." — *The Observer*



Karen refugees: more than 2,000 villagers have been killed by Slorc soldiers PHOTO: SUZANNE GOLDENBERG

Area of new nature reserve

Picture: Planet Earth

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Arms, aid and a reordered Europe

HELSINKI SUMMIT
Martin Walker

THERE is a sense of ritual to East-West summits, which seems to have survived the cold war. The two leaders invariably arrive amid dire predictions and tough rhetoric from their aides. The United States Congress usually offers some helpful bluster, warning its president against any "reckless concessions". These days, the Russian Duma contributes its own matching thunder of noises.

The sheer human drama of the summit moment, the great events of geopolitics encapsulated in the encounter of two men, continues to exert a magic that draws thousands of media folk. In turn, this encourages others, from demonstrators to politicians from lesser countries, to take advantage of all that media in concerted pursuit of so concentrated a focus.

Helsinki was like that, and touched by a piquant balance as Boris Yeltsin, the recovering heart patient, appeared less of an invalid than did Bill Clinton in his wheelchair. The sight of the president being extracted from Air Force One by a Finnish airlines catering truck on hydraulic stilts looked very odd; industrial chic jostling with memories of the last wheelchair summit, when Franklin Roosevelt met Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin at Yalta in 1945. For Clinton, the ailment is only temporary, the result of an operation to reattach the tendons of the knee he twisted while staying at golfer Greg Norman's home.

The Americans, assuming they would not win Russian approval of their determination to enlarge Nato, brought along some important concessions to try to persuade Yeltsin to push the Start 2 arms control treaty past a reluctant Russian Duma. The Clinton administration had been almost desperately keen to achieve some form of arms control agreement so that it could rebut the critics who said Russian opposition to Nato enlargement would poison the rest of the relationship.

In the event, the US arms control team virtually achieved "the grand slam" — a promise that the Start 2 treaty would be ratified, an agreement on the guidelines of a new Start 3 treaty, as well as a formal and signed agreement on permissible anti-missile defences. If all goes according to plan, nuclear arsenals on both sides will be slashed to some 2,000 weapons each, one-fifth of their level at the start of this decade. By cold war standards, this is miraculous.

Each side currently deploys about 6,000 warheads under the terms of the Start 1 agreement. A Start 2 treaty has been signed, which would cut warheads and missiles further to some 3,500 each, but this has yet to be ratified into force by the highly critical Russian Duma. Yeltsin has now said he will push the Duma, and expects it to go along. The real achievement was to move beyond Start 2 to a far more ambitious Start 3 regime, along with a formal settlement of the vexed issue of theatre missile defences. Sometimes known as "Star Wars Lite", these are small and regional versions of the anti-missile defence systems originally proposed by President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative.

The US had offered four parameters on the size, speed, range and deployment of these anti-missile systems, linked to a promise to remain within the terms of the original 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The Russians have long demanded far tougher controls, and their decision to compromise removes an obstacle that has bedevilled US-Russian relations since the days of Reagan and Gorbachev.

Taken altogether, the three deals could, in effect, take strategic arms control off the agenda for a generation, leaving each side with a stable force of some 2,000 nuclear warheads each. That is as far as the US believes it and the Russians can go without bringing the Chinese, British and French into discussion of further reductions.

The Americans also brought along the expected economic sweeteners, the least they could do after Yeltsin nailed his colours to the free-market mast by appointing the two best-known economic reformers, Anatoly Chubais and Boris Nemtsov, to his new government. Apart from supporting Russia's bid to join the World Trade Organisation and become a full member of the Group of Seven leading industrial nations, the Americans are not offering much: almost $1 billion this year in bilateral aid, and lots of export insurance and other credit to encourage private US investment into Russia.

But this summit also rose above the customary haggling over arms control and subsidies. It began to fulfil the conviction within the Clinton administration that the US and Russia are, for our time, engaged in as historic a rearrangement of the European order as the Treaty of Versailles that ended the first world war, and the process from Yalta in 1945 to the launch of Nato in 1949 that locked us all into the cold war for a generation.

Yeltsin decided that he might not like it and deemed it "a mistake", but he had no choice other than to learn to live with the fact of an enlarging Nato. He would no longer seek to block it, only to minimise its political dangers with a new Nato-Russian security charter. He has resolved to embrace the West, to join its institutions — the G7 and the WTO — and to abandon the old option of a sullen and isolationist Russia. The American interpretation of the joint statement Yeltsin signed, accepting that all countries had "the inherent right to choose the means to their own security", meant that he also would not even try to stop the Baltic states from joining. This is a dramatic change, pregnant with extraordinary possibilities.

The three deals could, in effect, take strategic arms control off the agenda for a generation

The essential equation of the cold war was whether Americans were prepared to risk the incineration of Boston in order to save Berlin. If we are to believe what the Clinton administration is now saying, the essential equation of the 21st century may be the West's readiness to risk Newcastle to save Novosibirsk, or to hazard Chicago to safeguard the interests of a much enlarged Nato in the Caspian.



Bill Clinton pulls a face after his translation device failed during last week's joint press conference in Helsinki PHOTOGRAPH: RICK WILKING

Clinton was at great pains during the Helsinki summit to stress that "I have never left Russia out. I have specifically said in every speech I have made about this subject that I do not believe Russia should be excluded from Nato membership." If he means it, and his second term will be long finished before the decision is made in some other president's Oval Office, then as a Nato member a future Russia would qualify under Article V of the treaty for the Nato nuclear guarantee.

Assume that an empowered and emboldened China decides to do something about the "unequal treaties" by which Tsarist Russia grabbed large swathes of Mongolia and Central Asia. Or assume that some future Islamic coalition decides to push Iran's ancient claims in the oil-rich Caspian basin. In either case, the core Nato members of the US and western Europe would be faced with interesting policy decisions. Cardiff or the Caspian? Paris or Petropavlovsk?

"This is not serious," was Yeltsin's blunt comment on Clinton's talk of Russia's eventual Nato membership. The Kremlin sees Clinton's vague words as akin to those hollow offers Reagan used to make of sharing Star Wars technology with the Russians so they would all be safer.

But the Americans, from Clinton to secretary of state Madeleine Albright and national security adviser Sandy Berger, are all stressing that Nato enlargement is not a one-shot deal for this year, but part of a rolling process. The phrase they all repeat is that "this year's first new members will not be the last".

In off-the-record conversations, they are prepared to think aloud about the way this process might unfold after Nato's Madrid summit this July, which will see Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic invited to join. The next step, possibly next year but certainly before the end of Clinton's second term, could see Slovenia, Austria and possibly also Romania joining the alliance. Austria is the interesting precedent, because of its formal status as a neutral, declared after the Soviet army agreed to withdraw from its half of the country in 1954.

With one former neutral absorbed, Nato could then hope to see a third wave as Sweden and Finland finally consider joining the alliance, in the full knowledge that this is probably the only practical way to bring in the three Baltic (and former Soviet) states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The prospect of their joining Nato is acutely painful for Russia, even though the price of their membership would doubtless be that they treat their Russian-speaking ethnic minorities more decently than they now do.

That is as far as my American sources are prepared to think aloud. Ask about the big one of Ukraine, and they shrug. Ask about the Bulgarians, let alone the Croats and Serbs, and they shrug again. Ask about Russia, and all anybody will say is to repeat Clinton's line about nobody being excluded.

There are two reasons why Clinton has to say the Russians can join Nato some day. The first is that his failure to say so would signal the degree to which Nato remains an insurance against Russia becoming both strong and aggressive again. The second is that he must buttress his assertion that this is "the new Nato"; no longer the old military alliance of the cold war, but the pan-European security system of the future.

Clinton actually believes this, in the way that any good salesman believes in the products he has to sell. But the fact is that his administration took up the cause of Nato enlargement in the summer of 1994, when Washington seriously feared that Nato was dribbling out its life in Bosnia. Enlargement seemed the only way to reinvigorate the alliance that remains the one institutional guarantee of America's role and leadership in Europe.

This is where Clinton's foreign policy starts running into strange paradoxes. To maintain Nato, Clinton has already had to agree to dilute it. To sustain an enlarged Nato, Clinton will probably have to bully the main European allies with all sorts of threats and pressures into speedily widening the European Union to match the enlarging Nato.

"We have an interest in seeing it [EU enlargement] happen as rapidly and as expansively as possible," Albright told a White House briefing just before she flew to Helsinki. In her view, the joint enlargement of Nato and the EU are inextricably linked; as she always says, "The security that Nato provides has always been essential to the prosperity the EU promises".

This has all sorts of implications for the next British government as it grapples with the European question. The old British preference for widening Europe, rather than deepening its institutions, will receive formidable reinforcement from the US. The common agricultural policy will struggle to survive the accession of the Poles and Hungarians to EU membership.

Clinton's European policies now mean that there is emerging an alternative Anglo-Saxon vision of the European future, one that chimes precisely with the hopes and the fears of the prospective new members to the east. The price we may yet pay for that will depend on where everyone agrees Europe stops. It was striking in Helsinki last week to hear how often the Americans — including Clinton speaking to Yeltsin — used General de Gaulle's old phrase about a Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals", implying that Russia is on the team.

The Americans quoted de Gaulle's phrase about a Europe 'from the Atlantic to the Urals'

All of this suggests a curious echo of the book that is currently fashionable among America's foreign policy establishment, The Clash Of Civilisations by the Harvard professor Sam Huntington, with its grimly Orwellian vision of the West facing a superpower China and a resurgent Islam.

And there is a curious common pigment to the grand Clintonian concept of North America, Europe and Russia all cosily settling down together. This is the geostrategic club of the white race. How interesting that Hillary Clinton chose last week to visit South Africa. Although it can hardly be supposed that anyone might ever risk Cardiff for the sake of Cape Town.

Washington Post, page 16

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Filibuster by peers sends Howard's bill into retreat

ABOUT of last-minute horse-trading, in a rush to clear the legislative decks before Parliament rose for the general election, forced the Government to make significant concessions in controversial bills on crime and education.

The Home Secretary, Michael Howard, was forced to climb down over his plans to enforce mandatory sentences on persistent criminals when Liberal Democrat peers, with Labour backing, threatened to wreck his entire Crime (Sentences) Bill.

Had there been more time, Mr Howard could have bulldozed his bill through the House of Lords, in the face of fierce opposition from judges and penal reformers. The compromise means that judges can exercise a discretion to ignore the fixed penalties in cases where they feel they would be unjust.

Complaining that his plans had been emasculated, and that tough minimum sentences were "absolutely essential" to protect the public from persistent burglars and drug dealers, Mr Howard sought to make the best of a bad job by claiming that the Conservatives were now the only party of law and order.

The Education Secretary, Gillian Shephard, was also angered by being forced to sacrifice plans to allow greater selection in schools. This was one of 19 clauses dropped from her Education Bill after talks with Labour. Other elements lost included measures paving the way for a grammar school in every large town, and the expansion of grant-maintained schools.

DEDICATED listeners to BBC Radio 4 took some comfort from assurances by its new controller, James Boyle, that there would be "no dumbing down" of the station's quality. The BBC seems hell-bent on shedding its older and middle-class audiences, so listeners had been alarmed by Mr Boyle's plans for a programme-by-programme review of Radio 4's output.

But the new controller, who is 50, said he had "no hare-brained schemes to attract younger listeners and get rid of people like me". He even announced plans to revive the long-running Round Britain Quiz, one of the station's more erudite shows — described as "the nearest radio gets to crossword puzzles" — which was axed in 1995.

The corporation's traditional structure, however, came under another attack, this time from the Commons Heritage Select Committee, which urged the abolition of nominated governors, who were described as "part-time, well-intentioned amateurs drawn from the great and good". The governors' role is broadly to protect the interests of licence-payers, but the committee argued that this was no way to run a business in the "new, tough, commercial broadcasting environment".

A WEARY Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, who is 61, gave a strong hint that he would be prepared to hand over to someone else in five years' time, even though he is entitled to remain in office until he is 70.

He has recently returned to work after a six-week sabbatical and, in a TV interview to be broadcast next month, says the job is "a wearing one . . . spiritually and emotionally demanding because you are being hit from many angles".

His six years as spiritual leader of the worldwide Anglican Church have been particularly turbulent, with bitter rows over women, gay and lesbian priests, and rumbles of more trouble ahead over whether a divorced — and possibly remarried — heir to the throne can ever become titular head of the Church.

LONDON'S Wormwood Scrubs was the subject of the latest in a series of damning reports by the Chief Inspector of Prisons, Sir David Ramsbottom, who said he was "surprised and horrified" by the conditions he found there.

He said his team had found much of the prison to be inexcusably dirty, and the impoverished regime made it mainly a "warehouse" for its 1,000 inmates, of whom 178 were serving life sentences. Most prisoners were locked up all day. Many work schemes had been demolished, places in education classes were not being filled, and some of the worst conditions were being endured by remand prisoners, many of whom would be found not guilty.

WHAT SHOULD have been good news — a near-record monthly drop of 68,200 in the number of people unemployed — went largely unnoticed, partly because they were lost in allegations of parliamentary sleaze, and partly because few people now take the figures at their face value anyway.

The fall in joblessness takes the UK total to 1,746,300 (6.2 per cent of workforce), the lowest since 1990. But most commentators now refer to the figure as "claimant count unemployment", because the count is not of people without a job but of those claiming benefit. And even the Office for National Statistics (ONS) admits that the figures are being affected by the replacement of Unemployment Benefit by the Jobseekers' Allowance, which is harder to claim. The ONS was also unable to offer an estimate of the unemployment trend, saying ministers had not asked it to produce one. If it wins the election, Labour plans to appoint a minister responsible for job creation with a seat in the Cabinet.





Richard Pryce, who routinely hacked into US military computers, with his parents PHOTO: SEAN SMITH

Student hacker 'better than KGB'

Christopher Elliott

POLICE spilling from more than half a dozen cars flashed their warrant cards and raced up the stairs to the attic.

After weeks of surveillance, the police had him. They were looking for the lair of a master spy who might be passing United States secrets to an eastern European ring, a man said in US congressional hearings to have done more damage to the Pentagon than the KGB.

They found Richard Pryce, a 16-year-old schoolboy with a gift for the double bass; his window into the heart of the American military machine a £750 computer.

"I was reading a bulletin board and the police came up and lifted my hands off the keyboard and cautioned me. I thought 'Oh, shit'," said Richard last week, after he pleaded guilty at a London magistrates court and was fined £1,200 for 12 offences of gaining unauthorised access to American military computer systems. "Those places were a lot easier to get into than university computers in England," he said.

His perception of his crimes — he hacked into highly secret US military computers at least 200 times — never matched the US and British authorities' stern view of them throughout the three years since his arrest on May 12, 1994.

His mother, Alison, remembers returning to their Kingsbury home in north London to discover the drive jammed with police cars. "The whole thing has been so surreal and daft, we never thought it possible it could go on as it had."

It was the beginning of an odyssey into the dark side of cyberspace for the family. Richard faced conspiracy charges for which he could have been jailed for up to five years until the Crown dropped them.

Richard, who was known to fellow hackers as the "datastream kid", first thought he had been arrested in connection with obtaining free telephone calls to pursue his hacking.

The computer was originally bought to help with Richard's computer studies A level. He spent more and more time on the computer surfing the Internet and accessing the hackers' bulletin boards after his double bass was vandalised and he could no longer practise.

"It was more of a challenge really, going somewhere I wasn't meant to . . . Quite a lot of hackers can't hack, they just sit around the bulletin boards pretending to hack. I was surprised how easy it was."

Why did he choose computer studies A level? "Er, it was the dropout subject," said the reformed hacker. He was given a D grade.

Racism 'rife' in the forces

David Fairhall

BRITAIN'S armed forces suffer from high levels of ingrained racism, which are not being tackled because of complacency among senior ranks.

An investigation by the Office for Public Management has unearthed widespread racist attitudes among army personnel who thought black people were "lazy" and Asians "sly". Names often used in the military, such as Snowy and Moonlight, were dismissed as mere "robust humour".

The Royal Navy was singled out, with the report saying senior officers turned a blind eye to taunts among lower ranks. "The conventions of a sea-faring tradition result in a level of awareness of cultural diversity which is 10 or 20 years behind that of a society at large and which can reasonably be said to constitute institutional racism."

In the RAF, black personnel were often excluded from guards of honour or VIP events through a process known as "packaging". "An unwritten rule summarised as 'no blacks, Pakis, spots or specs' governed basic assumptions about how things should 'really' or 'normally' be."

The army was accused of "colour blindness", while the Ministry of Defence had a long way to go "before it catches up with even average levels of good practice", the report said.

The report is based on interviews with all ranks and an analysis of recruitment and staffing. It found many units had no equal opportunities policy and thought racial differences were not important.

The Ministry of Defence admitted there were problems but said it was working hard with the Commission for Racial Equality. But despite efforts at recruitment, the proportion of blacks in the military is 1.4 per cent — compared with 5.4 per cent in the Civil Service.

● The army is reconsidering its ban on homosexuality. A new code of personal conduct is being drafted that may make it possible for soldiers to admit to a homosexual orientation provided their conduct does not impinge directly on their unit's operational effectiveness.

The revised code would need the approval of ministers. But whereas the armed forces minister, Nicholas Soames, is opposed to any relaxation in the current ban, Labour is committed to reviewing the position if it wins the general election.

The Ministry of Defence is under great pressure to change its policy, following changes in public attitudes that have led to legal challenges in the European courts.

Comment, page 12

MPs urge fast compensation

DISABLED veterans suffering from "Gulf war syndrome" should be given immediate compensation without having to sue the Government, MPs have concluded after reviewing the way defence ministers misled Parliament on the subject, *writes David Fairhall.*

Labour last week demanded the resignation of the armed forces minister, Nicholas Soames, after the all-party Commons defence committee published a scathing report saying the way veterans claims had been handled was symptomatic of the defence ministry's "instinctive defensiveness and insularity".

The MPs urged ex-gratia compensation payments for veterans exposed to organophosphate pesticides whose illnesses have no other explanation, and direct research into the causes of Gulf war syndrome — not just the present statistical studies.

They also appealed for faster settlement of war pension claims.

"We believe the time is ripe for a thorough re-examination of the system of compensation for service personnel injured while on duty," the report says.

Sleaze dogs last days of Parliament

Guardian Reporters

HIS LAST PRIME MINISTER'S QUESTION TIME:

THE last full day of Parliament ended in acrimony last week after John Major, Tony Blair and Paddy Ashdown clashed in a crowded Commons over the delay in publishing the report into the cash for questions scandal and its impact on the election.

With Labour MPs bellowing "sleaze, sleaze", and Tory loyalists shouting "two million" — a reference to Labour fund-raising — the Speaker had to restore order during Prime Minister's Question Time as Mr Blair demanded publication of Sir Gordon Downey's report and Mr Major accused him and Mr Ashdown of a "political stunt".

Backed by the Liberal Democrats, the shadow leader of the Commons, Ann Taylor, later raised the stakes by claiming that Mr Major had "mentioned facts which could only have been known to members of the [Standards and Privileges] Committee attending certain meetings".

Mrs Taylor's claim of a leak in privileged information was rejected by Mr Major's staff.

"Justice demands that this report be published. Any members of the public watching that interchange will conclude that you simply don't want to publish because you fear its publication," Mr Blair said across the despatch box, warning that the stain on the Government's character could be removed only by a change of government.

Mr Major replied with a sustained attack on Labour double standards. "The stain, if stain there will be, is on a Labour front bench that have smeared and smeared and smeared again."

The nub of Labour's complaint is that on BBC TV last October, Mr Major promised that he did not want Sir Gordon's investigation to be "kicked into the long grass".

When Mr Blair taunted Mr Major with that interview, the Prime Minister insisted: "The fact is that Sir Gordon Downey's report is not finished. It has not yet gone to the committee and when it gets to the committee, that is the start and not the conclusion of the process."

As a complex report it would take time to consider. "Those members that may be criticised will obviously wish to make representations and give evidence. The thought that that could be done fairly and properly in a few days is improbable in the extreme, and you know that."

But Mr Blair said: "If the objection is time, let the committee sit. If, indeed, it cannot finish its report for genuine reasons of time, so be it . . . If you continue to stonewall, people will believe that the reason is not technicalities or can't, it is won't!"

Labour later made a last-gasp attempt to force the issue by tabling a one-clause bill to extend Parliament so the committee examining the report could clear up the business and publish the report by April 8. But the Government refused to allow even five minutes of parliamentary time for the Opposition parties to debate it before Parliament officially prorogued.

An interim report published last week exonerated 15 MPs who failed to declare political campaign donations from lobbyist Ian Greer, but leaves several MPs accused of the most serious charges facing weeks of uncertainty. The former ministers Neil Hamilton and Tim Smith will still have to answer charges that they were paid thousands of pounds by Mohamed Al Fayed for asking questions in a campaign co-ordinated by Mr Greer — but only after the election. The interim report also made clear that Sir Gordon had not exonerated six other MPs over failing to declare election donations from Mr Greer. They include the former Chancellor Norman Lamont, who received £2,000; health minister Gerry Malone who received £1,000; and Nerj Deva, MP for Brentford, some £750.

Mr Blair told the Prime Minister in the Commons: "If you fail to have this [final] report published, when everyone knows that you could, it will leave a stain on the character of your government that will only be erased by a new government with a fresh mandate that will restore confidence in our public life for good."

The Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, told him: "You should not be surprised that those in the country will conclude that you enter the election as you conducted your administration — on a broken promise, on a slippery evasion and with your party mired in accusations of sleaze."

Downing Street insisted that the Prime Minister's chief concern is that the controversy is resolved fairly and stressed his role in setting up Lord Nolan's Committee on Standards in Public Life and Sir Gordon's subsequent appointment as independent commissioner for standards.

Meanwhile Labour confirmed reports that in government it would ask the Nolan committee to consider whether Sir Gordon should have more powers — including the authority to publish his own findings.

Robin Cook, the shadow foreign secretary, said: "A Labour government will look afresh at Parliament's way of regulating its own affairs in the light of the handling of the recent sleaze revelations.

"The Standards Commissioner clearly needs greater authority, more resources, and the right to publish his findings independently if Parliament's integrity is to be protected."

A Liberal Democrat MP, Menzies Campbell, said he believed members should be made to lodge their income tax returns with Sir Gordon, whose duties include operating the Register of Members' Interests.

"If a member declines to lodge his income tax returns, or if he lodges a defective return, then it certainly should be grounds for disqualification from the House of Commons."

Comment, page 12

Witnessess speak out against MPs

David Pallister

TWO people who claimed they were involved in handing over envelopes stuffed with cash to Tory MP Neil Hamilton from the Harrods boss, Mohamed Al Fayed, broke cover last weekend and confirmed what they had done.

Alison Foster, Mr Al Fayed's personal assistant for 13 years, said she had filled the envelopes with up to £7,000 in total on two or three occasions and wrote Mr Hamilton's name on the cover. Philip Broomfield, a security guard at Mr Al Fayed's London apartment at 60 Park Lane, confirmed he had handed envelopes to Mr Hamilton. They have already told their stories to Sir Gordon Downey, Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards.

Ms Foster, until now a Tory supporter, told the Mail on Sunday she decided to speak out because she could not stomach Mr Hamilton's repeated denials of taking the cash.

In further damaging revelations taken from private testimony to Sir Gordon, Ian Greer, the lobbyist, admitted that Mr Hamilton asked for part-undeclared payments to be made in gifts in order for him to avoid paying tax.

Ms Foster, who has not talked publicly before about the matter, said Mr Hamilton was a frequent visitor to 60 Park Lane during the mid-1980s, when Mr Al Fayed was involved in his battle with Lonrho's Tiny Rowland over House of Fraser.

"At the time of Mr Hamilton's visits, we saw Mr Al Fayed putting money into envelopes, or he had brown envelopes sitting on his desk. Neil Hamilton received envelopes containing £6,000 or £7,000 in total from me on two or three occasions. He must have been paid about £15,000 to £20,000 in total with the money Mr Al Fayed gave him.

"At one point, Mr Hamilton became fairly persistent. He would phone three to four times over a week or 10 days. It would be on one of those occasions that Mr Al Fayed told me, 'He wants his money. Put £2,000 in an envelope and leave it downstairs for him'."

In his evidence to Sir Gordon, Mr Hamilton said: "I have no recollection of collecting any envelopes of any kind from 60 Park Lane." He said last weekend: "They're both lying through their teeth and my submission to Sir Gordon proves it."

Mr Greer told Sir Gordon it was Mr Hamilton's idea to ask for pictures, airline tickets and furniture as part-payment for commissions he never declared. "I saw nothing wrong with it. To him it was important, or he felt it would be advantageous or convenient to settle bills and give him the residue in a cheque." Mr Hamilton has confirmed this to Sir Gordon.

Last week Mr Hamilton braved the wrath of his Tory faithful in his Cheshire constituency with a rebuttal of the allegations and barely a hint of contrition.

Amid mounting evidence of a grassroots revolt against Mr Hamilton at the annual meeting of his Tory association at a pub in Tatton, the beleagured MP and his outwardly loyal local party officers strenuously denied reports that dissidents in the Tatton Tory association planned to deselect the MP if he was not cleared of impropriety by Sir Gordon's report into cash for questions.

Prorogued by a roguish pro

SKETCH
Simon Hoggart

MY COLLEAGUES and I are constantly accused of being too cynical about politicians. We always look on the worst side, they tell us. We invariably assume the most venal motives. We may spend our lives in the gutter but we should sometimes follow Oscar Wilde's advice and look up towards the stars.

Yet MPs are more cynical about themselves. It may be hard for the voters to comprehend, but there are some who doubt John Major's motives for announcing the longest election campaign since 1918.

Now, it happens there are those among us who have long suspected that Mr Major's reputation as a fellow of rock-like integrity is not entirely deserved. We wonder whether, far from being a decent, upright, Rotarian sort of chap, someone so law-abiding he would report a neighbour for peeing in the shower, he is actually a slippery customer whom you should trust no further than you could throw Nicholas Soames.

Indeed, we think that with his big honest eyes, his nervous grin, diffident manner and baggy sweaters, he could do well selling 10-quid Rolexes in Oxford Street. But that's the sort of cheap, reach-me-down cynicism you'd expect from a hack.

So you'll realise how shocked I was to discover that there are MPs who share my sordid doubts. They actually suspect that Mr Major prorogued Parliament in order to make certain that Sir Gordon Downey's report on sleaze is kept secret until well after polling day.

They even said so in the House last week. Of course, it would never do to put it too baldly. After all, Sir Gordon's report may assert that all members of Parliament are blameless. "When Mr Al Fayed arranged for envelopes stuffed with cash to be given to MPs, he made it quite clear that this money was to be passed straightaway to the Parliamentary Greasers' Widows and Orphans Benevolent Fund."

Or, "The lengthy stays at the Paris Ritz were arranged purely as part of a parliamentary investigation into Alternatives to Homelessness. The honourable member has told us, and we accept his word, that his only wish was to make certain that the luxury of the facilities would not be overwhelming to someone who had spent the previous six months in a cardboard box."

If Sir Gordon had exonerated all MPs, then it would have reflected badly on any of their colleagues who had jumped to outrageous conclusions. Simon Hughes, for example, a Liberal, said he wanted the report to be published "so that the interests of *all* members can be protected, whether or not they are mentioned" — in other words, I am inquiring for the guiltless rather than against the culpable.

Tony Benn went into the Land of Oz, a mythic place where he is happiest. "Madam Speaker, the prorogation of Parliament is for the Crown and the Prime Minister . . . the House continues to sit until the 8th of April. During that period Sir Gordon, and the clerk, and the editor of Hansard remain officers of the House . . . we can instruct them to make available information gained at the behest of the House even if the House is prorogued . . ."

When Mr Benn is in march-of-our-great-constitution mode, you feel that his words shouldn't be spoken so much as stitched into a tapestry.

Bernard Jenkin, a Tory, suggested that publishing the rap sheet would be unfair. We were dealing with MPs' livelihoods. They were looking for a dispassionate and fair appraisal. (I read this to mean, in my horrid, sceptical way, "anyone who gets fingered might lose their seat, whereas if they get re-elected in time, they might just be able to ride it out.")

In any event, Speaker Betty said that nothing could be done, and Parliament has duly been prorogued. So much for us cynics.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Maze tunnel points to chaos

Vivek Chaudhary in Belfast and David Pallister

AN AUDACIOUS attempt by 95 IRA prisoners to tunnel out of the H-blocks of the Maze prison involved piling 45 tonnes of excavated rubble into two cells that had not been inspected for nearly a year, prison officers claimed on Monday.

The 40ft tunnel had electric lights and was shored up with chair legs and bed boards, which IRA inmates are thought to have got from the prison doctor after complaining of bad backs.

It was apparently discovered by chance when a prison officer noticed subsidence just outside the inner fence last Sunday. Some reports suggested that the authorities at the Northern Ireland prison near Lisburn had been monitoring the tunnel's progress through sensitive security listening devices.

The prisoners were about 80ft from freedom. The escape would have been the most spectacular since 1983, when 38 men escaped from Block 7 in a kitchen lorry.

The tunnel, 7ft underground and 2½ft square, is believed to have been dug with tools given to prisoners in handicraft lessons.

Maze prison officers said that IRA inmates were in almost complete control, and that the officers are powerless to prevent more escape attempts. Findlay Spratt, chairman of the Northern Ireland Prison Officers' Association, said that a culture of appeasement allowed inmates "to do whatever they like".

Although the Government ended the wider freedoms of political status for IRA prisoners in 1976 — which led to the "dirty protests" and hunger strike of the late seventies and early eighties — republican and loyalist prisoners have been unofficially allowed to regulate their own affairs within a military structure.

Mr Spratt said the Maze authorities had been warned of an escape attempt. "We don't even go down to the prison wings and can't search the cells without notifying the IRA commander of the block," Mr Spratt said. "The prisoners are in total control and we don't even lock them up at night. They are free to do whatever they want.

"We need to have a full public inquiry into what is actually going on in the Maze."

Twelve of the most hardened IRA prisoners were recently moved to Block 7 after being transferred from English jails. Inmates at the Maze enjoy the most liberal living conditions of any British prison. They have access to a library, gymnasium and television, and are allowed to telephone home when they like. Terrorist emblems and flags adorn the walls.

The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, denied that IRA inmates in the Maze were in control. "I think we should concentrate on the fact that this was a foiled attempt by an alert patrol."

A former IRA convict, Gerry Kelly, who was involved in the 1983 escape, said IRA prisoners see it as their duty to try to escape. Mr Kelly, a Sinn Fein negotiator and the party's candidate for North Belfast in the general election, denied IRA members controlled the Maze blocks.

In Brief

A 12-YEAR-OLD boy was killed after he tried to stow away in the front wheel arch of a plane travelling from Kenya to Britain. He is the second stowaway to die this month. Asylum seekers are being told there is a passageway from the wheel arch to the baggage hold that they can open from the landing gear bay. No such passageway exists.

THE Scout Association has decided homosexuals can be accepted as troop leaders, but only "fit and proper" people would be allowed to work with scouts and local people would have the last say.

THE MAN Princess Margaret once accused of "starting all this pop DJ lark" signs off this week after 32 years hosting what is thought to be the world's longest-running pop radio show. Brian Matthew launched Top Of The Pops on the then BBC Transcription Service in 1964, but it was never broadcast in Britain.

A NEW report finds that despite strenuous efforts to woo the female voter, women still feel they are being ignored and that their priorities differ strongly from the issues identified for them by politicians.

FOOTBALLERS Bruce Grobbelaar, John Fashanu and Hans Segers and Malaysian businessman Heng Suan Lim face a new trial in June on match-fixing allegations on behalf of a Far East betting syndicate.

THE controversial movie Crash, a graphic account of sex and car crashes, has been passed uncut by the British Board of Film Classification.

THE Rev John Papworth, who announced that stealing from supermarkets was not a sin, has been told that his services are no longer required at his parish in St John's Wood, north London.

ALMAN al-Shiash, a former Syrian secret service agent who stalked and terrified a hairdresser for more than a year after she refused to enter into a marriage of convenience with him, was jailed for four years.

THE Government has given the go-ahead for the widening of the busiest section of the M25 around London to 12 lanes, without a public inquiry, creating the widest motorway in Europe.

BRIGHT pupils may soon be able to do the first year of a university degree while still at school, under a scheme being drawn up by four universities and independent schools.

DAME Muriel Spark, aged 79, has won the £30,000 David Cohen British Literature Prize.

Labour set to halve windfall tax on utilities

Guardian Reporters

THE Labour leadership has decided virtually to halve the £5 - £10 billion it hoped to raise from its controversial windfall tax, and to drop two companies from the list of "fat cat" privatised utilities on its original target list.

It means that the sum raised to put 250,000 young or long-term jobless back to work is unlikely to exceed the £3 billion Labour says it needs over five years.

Neither British Telecom nor BAA, formerly the British Airports Authority, will be hit by the levy. Instead the burden is to fall on gas, water and electricity companies.

Senior Labour sources insisted the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, has been persuaded to opt for a lower target figure of around £3 billion.

"It's been scaled down because a decision has been taken that getting it [the money] in without a battle, and quickly, takes precedence," one shadow cabinet source said.

As a symbol of Labour's determination to break the culture of welfare dependency, create jobs and raise skills in the workforce without reckless spending increases, the windfall levy is a central campaign issue for both sides. Opinion polls show strong public support for the tax.

The excesses of privatised utilities and their directors were later thrust back into the spotlight as Labour seized on three reports from two all-party committees of MPs to justify its planned windfall tax and tighter regulation.

One report calls for restrictions on all utility profits, while another warns that next year's liberalisation of the electricity market could be delayed. The third, on telecommunications regulation, says that, if British Telecom's merger with MCI Communications of the US goes ahead, BT should be forced to dispose of MCI's 9 per cent stake in Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation.

The reports will be used by Labour to argue that many consumers, particularly those on low incomes, have not benefited sufficiently from the utility sell-offs, and that industry regulators should crack down on the high profits reaped by electricity, water, gas and telecommunications companies since privatisation.

Up, up, and away . . . George Gamble releases a pigeon in Billingham, Teesside, hoping it will not emulate another prize-winning homer that took off five years ago — and landed up in China. Last week a message from Shanghai told him the long-forgotten bird was flourishing, having arrived in China via a North Seal oil rig, where it had been picked up and given to a Chinese sailor PHOTO: CARL RUTHERFORD

Tory MP resigns as candidate

Alison Daniels and Lawrence Donegan

THE Tory party was in fresh turmoil on Monday after Scottish MP Allan Stewart resigned as candidate for Eastwood, near Glasgow, following newspaper allegations of an affair with a married woman.

Mr Stewart, aged 54, who quit as Scottish industry minister two years ago after he threatened road protesters in Glasgow with a pickaxe, announced his decision not to fight the election at an emergency meeting of his constituency party.

His decision comes as the Conservatives are trying to move the election agenda away from the cash-for-questions scandal that dominated the first week of the campaign.

Mr Stewart, an MP since 1979, resigned after reports in the Scottish tabloids that he had formed a close friendship with a married woman, Catherine Knight, whom he is said to have met in an alcohol rehabilitation clinic and who had allegedly been staying at his flat in London.

Ian Muir, chairman of Eastwood Conservative party, insisted the MP's decision was unrelated to the newspaper stories, and said he had decided to stand down on the grounds of ill health. "This is a human tragedy of immense proportions which will touch the heart of all but the most hardened," he said.

Mr Stewart said in a letter to Mr Muir that recent press reports and ill health had caused his family "great distress and personal strain".

His resignation shocked Scottish Conservatives. But, with his 11,688 majority easily the best of the 10 Tory MPs in Scotland, there is bound to be a scramble to replace him.

Britain's worst landowner – HM the Queen

THE Queen was named Britain's worst landowner last week for her "poor management" of Balmoral, a retreat for the royal family for generations, *writes Stuart Millar.*

The Queen, patron of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, was accused of engineering the exclusion of conservation sites on Balmoral from wildlife protection laws.

She was also said to have excluded conservation experts from monitoring management practices on the estate, which includes some of the most important wildlife habitats in Europe.

The Land Is Ours, a London-based environmental group, invited the public and conservationists to nominate the best and worst landowners. The three judges said the Queen easily beat fierce competition from 50 other nominees to take over the title from last year's winner, the Duke of Westminster, by allowing important conservation areas to be damaged.

The estate argued successfully that important sites should not be designated for special protection because the Wildlife and Countryside Act did not apply to Crown land.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Care funds ruling 'a devastating blow'

David Brindle

WELFARE groups will press the next government to clarify entitlement to care services after the House of Lords last week ruled that local authorities can withhold or withdraw help from people when councils are short of funds.

In a judgment crucial to community care, five law lords decided by a 3-2 majority that Gloucestershire county council had acted lawfully in withdrawing home-help services from an elderly disabled man.

Organisations representing disabled and elderly people expressed fears that cash-strapped authorities throughout England and Wales would act on the judgment.

Neil Betteridge, head of projects and campaigns at the disability charity, Radar, said: "This is a devastating blow. It points the way for stronger and clearer legislation being needed in the vacuum which this creates — and the sooner the better."

The ruling represents the final say on a case which started in 1994 when Gloucestershire, facing a £2.5 million shortfall in its social services budget, cut home-care services to more than 1,000 people.

One man who lost his twice-weekly service was Michael Barry, now aged 81. He lives alone, has no contact with his family, and has suffered a slight stroke, several heart attacks, a fractured hip and sight loss.

After his case was taken up by Radar and the Public Law Project, the High Court ruled that it was right for a local authority to take account of available resources when assessing people's needs and deciding when to meet them.

However, the Court of Appeal then said an authority was not entitled to consider resources in circumstances where the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970 prescribed a "duty" to provide a service to meet an assessed need.

Giving the majority ruling restoring the High Court's verdict, Lord Clyde said the 1970 act should be seen in context of the National Assistance Act 1948, which gave local authorities "power" to help people while taking proper account of available resources.

In framing eligibility criteria for care services, authorities may need to balance the severity of a person's condition against resource availability. "Such an exercise indeed accords with everyday domestic experience in relation to things which we do not have," said Lord Clyde, who was supported by Lord Hoffman and Lord Nicholls of Birkenhead.

Dissenting, Lord Lloyd of Berwick said people's needs did not lessen in line with an authority's resources. "Every child needs a new pair of shoes from time to time. The need is not the less because his parents cannot afford them."

Lord Lloyd, who was supported by Lord Steyn, said Gloucestershire had been placed in a "truly impossible" position by government spending curbs. Even if it had wished to raise council tax to bridge its shortfall, it had been unable to do so.

"The solution lies with the Government. The passing of the [1970 act] was a noble aspiration. Having willed the end, Parliament must be asked to provide the means."

Bob Lewis, president of the Association of Directors of Social Services, said authorities would be relieved at the ruling. However, the law did need clarification.

Although most authorities were short of funds, Mr Lewis said, he did not expect widespread cuts.

Judge allows woman to die

Clare Dyer

ENGLAND'S senior family judge last week authorised doctors to allow a brain-damaged accident victim to die, in a case which extends the boundaries of the law.

Sir Stephen Brown, president of the High Court's family division, ruled that doctors caring for the 29-year-old woman, identified only as Miss D, need not reinsert a feeding tube accidentally dislodged last week.

The case breaks new ground because the former university student is not in a permanent vegetative state (PVS), according to criteria laid down by the Royal College of Physicians.

The court has sanctioned withdrawal of artificial feeding in a line of cases since the House of Lords approved such a course in the case of the Hillsborough survivor Tony Bland. But all patients fell squarely within the Royal College of Physicians' criteria, endorsed last year by all the royal colleges.

Three experts insisted Miss D was in PVS, despite signs — such as tracking a moving object with her eyes and eye movement in reaction to ice water on her ear — which would take her outside the criteria. But all agreed she was not in PVS according to the guidelines.

David Bates, secretary of the forum which produced the guidelines, said: "I would not be happy to say this young lady is in PVS." He believed the court had "gone beyond Bland" but he did not disagree with the decision to stop feeding.

Another case, in which the patient, also a road accident victim, is described as near PVS, is awaiting hearing in the High Court and lawyers expect the court to approve withdrawal of feeding in that case too.

Sir Stephen said Miss D was suffering a "living death".

James Munby, QC, who was appointed by the Official Solicitor to represent Miss D's interests, said the reason the royal college had been anxious to identify what he had called a "bright line" over which the boundaries should not be pushed was because there was always a danger of a "slippery slope".

But the judge said all the consultants, doctors, medical team and family were agreed that there was "no possibility of any meaningful life".

Miss D was at university in 1989 planning to become a teacher when she suffered a severe head injury in a road accident.



GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Is integrity also junk, Mr Major?

Hugo Young

AT EVERY stage of the parliamentary sleaze story, which is now two-and-a-half years old, the Government has found some kind of answer to the pressing question of the moment. Consider, for example, the case of David Willetts, the former whip who committed to paper his involvement in manipulating an early phase of the Neil Hamilton investigation. Willetts was caught bang to rights, and subsequently resigned. But a talk-out was assembled, and it toured the studios in the mouth of the Deputy Prime Minister: Willetts was inexperienced, the whips worked in mysterious ways, the committee couldn't be nobbled, and so forth. It was thin stuff, but it was damage limitation.

The feature of the final stage, last week's appropriately terminal fiasco over the Downey report, is that no such effort has been made. Asked to explain why Parliament was prorogued nine working days before its dissolution, a larger gap than any time this century, ministers simply ignored the question. They can't even dredge up some mumbo-jumbo to throw in our eyes. There it sits, an unexplained chasm of wasted public time, in which progress could have been made to expedite completion of Sir Gordon Downey's inquiry into allegations of impropriety by MPs.

Possibly the explanation is simple. Maybe, in the flurry of the election announcement, the Prime Minister's office simply forgot about Downey. This government does not operate with such Rolls-Royce precision as to totally exclude the possibility of a cock-up. But I don't believe it. It is unimaginable that nobody remembered Downey, or was not intimately alert to the progress he was making.

The fear, I hazard, was not so much that Downey might find clearly against a bunch of Tory MPs, but that he might not exonerate them entirely. There might be much confusion, readily exploitable by the sharks and jackals. The committee of select procedures, as John Prescott charmingly spoonerised it the other day, would want to have its say after Downey had reported. A mighty, uncontrollable, public mess loomed. To arrange for it to be postponed was a tight call, because Mr Major had promised to move heaven and earth to get a verdict before the election. But a postponement induced by early prorogation seemed, in all the circumstances, the better course.

To me, this is not proof of the Government's turpitude so much as yet more evidence of its incorrigible, disdainful frivolity. After appointing the Nolan Committee, that has been its stance throughout the Hamilton affair. The persistent tendency to reject all charges against Hamilton et al, implicit or sometimes (as with Mr Portillo, even at the eleventh hour) explicit, masqueraded as the need to protect the innocent. The determination to blackguard Mohamed Al Fayed and the Guardian was undeflected by the fact that one of the accused, Tim Smith MP, had already confessed to the charge, and has now tripled the amount of money he says he took for asking questions, thereby confirming everything Mr Al Fayed said about him, and placing a presumption of accuracy around the rest of what Mr Al Fayed has said about cash for questions.



Ministers' stance has been to defame the accusers rather than confront the accused. The accused, after all, were in a grey area; there were misunderstandings; the norms changed over the years; setting up Nolan, in any case, discharged the prime minister's responsibilities. Such was the attitude evinced in many signals the Government gave. Entirely of a piece with this was last week's screaming indignation that the only reason anyone was fussed about these sordid dealings was because some good unemployment figures needed to be covered up.

The apogee of this mind-set is the behaviour of Tim Smith. Exposed as confessing to an £18,000 pay-off, with shadowy tax avoidance on the side, he broke cover only to supply a flailing whinny about the Prime Minister's innocence in the matter — as if that is what matters to the voters of Beaconsfield, who are now about to enjoy their five-yearly window as the people who briefly matter most to him. Even now, Mr Smith believes he did nothing wrong. He still appears unmoved by the proposition that there was some discrepancy, some gulf of decency, between the bribes he took in the 1980s and his placement, with the assistance of the whips and the rest of the governing apparatus, on the Public Accounts Committee. "I genuinely believed, and still believe, that at the time I was acting in the public interest," he told Downey last month. What is a quick prorogation, to the party that harbours within it the morality of the imbecile?

Parliament doesn't need to be sitting for some of the scandals that Downey has unearthed to be minimally rectified. Parliament doesn't need to be sitting for Mr Smith and Mr Hamilton to declare that they do not have the effrontery to try to return there. The Speaker doesn't need to be in her chair for the Prime Minister to tell them that's what they should do. But first he must see that this is not some party game. The institution can be prorogued, but its integrity is not for dissolving. Or is that, as Mr Major said last week, "total and complete junk"?

Troops show their colours

SHOULDERS back. Eyes right. The army's appalling record of race discrimination is on parade again. The final report on the review of ethnic minority initiatives, commissioned by the Ministry of Defence, exposed widespread racial discrimination when it was published last week.

It shows that the handful of black troops that are recruited to the British army enter the forces as if through a revolving door. They go in with the intention of serving their country and learning a trade; they are subjected to abuse and physical harassment; they complain to superiors who tell them not to be so sensitive or, worse still, add racial insults to bodily injuries; and then leave when they can take no more and receive a hefty pay-off and an apology when their experiences are aired on civvy street.

Individual tales point to a scale of bigotry that has not been the norm in most other parts of Britain since the anti-discrimination legislation of the 1970s. Indeed the only surprising thing about the Commission for Racial Equality's threat to take legal action is that they did not make it and then execute it sooner. Ever since Prince Charles expressed his concern about the milky white complexion of the royal guards in the early 1980s this has been obvious terrain over which the CRE could yomp freely and to good effect.

On its own, the CRE's intervention will achieve more for its credibility than it will for the black troopers of today or tomorrow. Rigorous ethnic monitoring, complaints procedures with integrity and a top-down commitment to an equal opportunities programme should be welcomed as far as they go. But they are predicated on the idea that the army intends to be meritocratic. It doesn't, and it isn't. The army is still the British class system with uniforms and guns. What school you went to and what your father did counts for more than what you yourself can or should do.

For the children of recent immigrants, who are generally born into the working class but who are not even fully accepted there, signing up to such an institution is hardly inviting. With each horror story the likelihood of more black people coming forward becomes more remote. As a result, the issue of their under-representation becomes even more acute. The question is whether that spiral can be broken.

Experience in the United States suggests that it might. One of the few race lessons that Britain can learn from America may be found in the US army. The army is one of the few places in America where black people really can get on. Indeed, with 30 per cent of America's soldiers (compared with 11 per cent of the population generally), blacks are massively over-represented. The army provides one of the few opportunities to see white Americans taking orders from black ones.

True, blacks have been in America in large numbers far longer than they have in Britain. Admittedly, until relatively recently there were segregated squadrons and regiments. It is also true that the recent rape allegations in Aberdeen, Maryland, suggest that racism is rife in US ranks too. But the fact that blacks keep joining despite all that should tell Britain something.

First, that an army that is not based on merit cannot hope to correct fully the burden of its past. And, second, that the army is not just another public department. It is the face that a nation shows to the world during both war and peace. The idea that the army should be systematically victimising its own citizens because they are not white undermines the very concept of the Britain they are trying to defend.

Betrayed by Parliament

BECAUSE the Guardian believes in elections fought in the light, not in the dark, the newspaper published last week a summary of evidence submitted to Sir Gordon Downey on the cash-for-questions scandal. This is an issue which goes to the heart of parliamentary democracy. The facts the report reveals are, in short, that a number of MPs now offering themselves for re-election have secretly confessed to, or are plainly guilty of, criminal offences of bribery, corruption, and cheating the Inland Revenue. Secret confessions, we now know, have been made to flagrant breaches of the parliamentary law on declaration of interests, and some of the evidence given to a parliamentary select committee has been shown to be lies.

Had things been handled differently, Sir Gordon's full report could have been published by Parliament itself. We would have much preferred that to happen. But it was clear that in spite of the forces anxious for publication — not just the opposition parties, but Sir Gordon himself, his masters, the Committee on Standards and Privileges, and even Conservative MPs who figure in the investigation — John Major and his Government remained obdurate, wholly indifferent to the public's right to know. This affair began with concealment — concealment from Parliament and the public of the secret and squalid motives which led MPs to table their questions: the cash which companies and their lobbyists were ready so freely to put in their pockets. Now it culminates in a further concealment. John Major — honest John, as he used to be advertised, who began so well, setting up the Nolan committee, backing Sir Gordon's appointment, declaring on television that his report must be available before the election — has now decided instead on an election fought in the dark. For reasons which — insultingly — he has never even attempted to justify, he fixed the timetable for the election in such a way that Sir Gordon's report, which he himself had demanded, could not be published before the nation went to the polls.

Whose rights are infringed by this concealment? Most immediately, those of voters in those constituencies where MPs at the heart of Sir Gordon's investigations are offering themselves to the voters. The whole basis of the British electoral system cannot work if voters are denied essential information about those who aspire to represent them. The interim report published last week fulfils that requirement in the case of 15 named MPs — 11 Conservative, three Labour and one Liberal Democrat — whom Sir Gordon exonerates. The failure to arrange publication of the rest of his findings denies that essential safeguard in 10 other constituencies. In eight cases the MPs involved (though some are not standing again) have been identified; in two cases, they have not. What are the voters to make of it? Either way, someone is wronged. Where these MPs are innocent, they have to fight the suspicion that they may be guilty. Where they are guilty, the concealment may save them from the retribution they deserve at the hands of electors. The electoral process is thereby frustrated: and needlessly frustrated, since but for John Major's obduracy, none of this need have occurred.

The injustice done to the rest of us is less specific, but it is real. Part of the context of the Government over the past few years has been sleaze. But without the Downey report, the electorate cannot judge how grave that offence has been. Either way, someone is wronged. The Prime Minister's failure to use the options before him to let the public see the report have fed the suspicion that the findings looked bad for his party. And the details we published confirm that they do. John Major sought to dismiss the whole affair as an "opposition stunt". That is not how most voters are likely to see it.

It is already clear that the procedures the House instituted when seized by shame and remorse over earlier allegations will need substantial amendment. They need to reflect the comfort of members less, and the rights of the public much more. Parliament, as for a while it seemed to accept, is on trial in this matter: its attachment to self-regulation will stand or fall by its resolution. For ourselves, we remain convinced that an independent commission against corruption, safe from interruption — or in this case disruption — by parliamentary prorogations or committees with in-built government majorities can alone provide the safeguards required in an honest democracy; can alone ensure that issues like these are resolved in the light, not the dark. We believe that Parliament holds its privileges not for itself but on trust for the people who are represented there. In this matter the Prime Minister and Parliament itself have singularly failed to protect the essential rights of the voter.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Le Monde

Albanian minority threatens Macedonia

Denis Hautin-Guiraut in Tetovo

ALL THE signs are that the Republic of Macedonia's Albanian minority, which accounts for about a quarter of the country's population of 2 million, is now close to rebellion.

Observers point to various warning signs such as the nationalist slogans chanted by demonstrators in Tetovo when its mayor took office a few weeks ago ("This is Albania, Macedonians go home!"); the overwhelming victory of the radical Albanian Democratic Welfare Party (ADWP) at the 1996 local elections in towns with an Albanian majority; and the Albanian flag that has become a permanent fixture on Gostivar town hall.

The situation is all the more alarming because neighbouring Albania is in a state of total chaos — though the leaders of Macedonia's Albanian parties are careful not to comment on events there. They do no more than stress that the situation is improving and that the government of national reconciliation seems to have regained control.

One foreign observer thinks the mounting tension in Macedonia is "the greatest problem facing the country". He points out that "the lack of any increase in contacts between the two main communities has resulted in a real deterioration in their relationship. Macedonians are terrified Albanians will ask for autonomy or outright separation, while Albanians fear they will gradually become second-class citizens."

"Macedonia is no longer the oasis of peace it used to be," says a diplomat, alluding to the fact that Macedonia gained its independence in November 1991 without bloodshed.

When, shortly after independence, President Kiro Gligorov formed a coalition government that included the Democratic Welfare Party (DWP), a moderate party representing the Albanian community, there were hopes that a period of consensus between the two communities had dawned.

But the lack of any real progress in the integration of the Albanian minority, as well as Tirana's direct pressure on the main party representing Albanians, led to a split in the DWP two years ago and the formation of the more radical ADWP, which is now easily the bigger party.

"It has now reached the point where the DWP's policies have become more radical and those party members who are still in the government feel sorely tempted to resign," a Macedonian journalist says.

"The situation has become more extreme simply because problems have not been solved," says Alajdin Demiri, the ADWP's spokesman, who has just taken office as mayor of Tetovo, a town some 40km from the capital Skopje where Albanians account for 75 per cent of the population.

"Our language is not recognised, and the Skopje authorities are doing everything in their power to deny us our most basic rights. We also want the university we set up in 1994 to be granted legal status, which is something the Skopje government has obstinately refused to do."

Tetovo's "unauthorised" university is run along the same lines as the university of Pristina, capital of the neighbouring Serbian province of Kosovo. There are lectures in the Albanian language on 10 subjects, including philosophy, pharmacy, agriculture, economics, music and mathematics.

The head of the university, Fadil Sulejmani, says most of its budget of about $2 million comes from "modest contributions" by the Albanian community in Macedonia and from larger sums contributed by expatriates. The university, whose "premises" include private homes, garages and the basements of blocks of flats, has 2,500 students and more than 200 lecturers, according to Sulejmani.

Although these figures are probably inflated and the university is widely regarded in Skopje as nothing more than "an empty shell" or "an organisation for retraining unemployed lecturers", its official recognition has become a kind of holy grail for the Albanian parties, which have repeatedly taken offence at the nicknames given to this symbol of their educational autonomy.

ONE OF the deputy presidents of the ADWP, Menduh Thaci, says: "My father was able to get me educated in Albania till the end of my medical studies. I won't be able to do the same for my son."

In response to these demands, and to numerous warnings from the DWP (the Albanian party which forms part of the government and is aware it is losing ground to its more radical rival), the Macedonian authorities made a move which they thought would satisfy the Albanian community: they passed a law that authorises teaching in Albanian at Skopje teachers' training colleg.

The decision had a disastrous effect. It did not satisfy those it was supposed to appease, because they thought it did not go far enough; and it triggered demonstrations by Macedonian students, 10 of whom went on hunger strike to protest against what they regarded as an undeserved privilege.

Encouraged by a petition signed by more than 20,000 people, the students called for the resignation of the education minister, Sofija Todorova, and the abrogation of the controversial law. The result has increased antagonism between young people in both communities.

A much more serious development is the profusion of weapons that have been circulating in Albania since the unrest of the past few weeks. The fear is that arms trafficking, which is bound to increase as time goes on, will enable certain Macedonian Albanians to arm themselves, or even possibly to form paramilitary groups within Macedonia.

Two years ago, the authorities took steps to break up many such networks. At that time, supplies of arms were nowhere near as abundant as they are today. These concerns are shared by the ADWP leadership. As Thaci says: "Things could go very wrong, and we could see the emergence of terrorist groups."

International diplomats tend to be of the opinion that this is unlikely, but only on condition, as one of them puts it, that "the international community rapidly becomes aware of the problem: the longer we delay trying to find a compromise between the communities in Macedonia, the worse the situation will eventually become".

(March 21)

Russia faces blight of the living dead

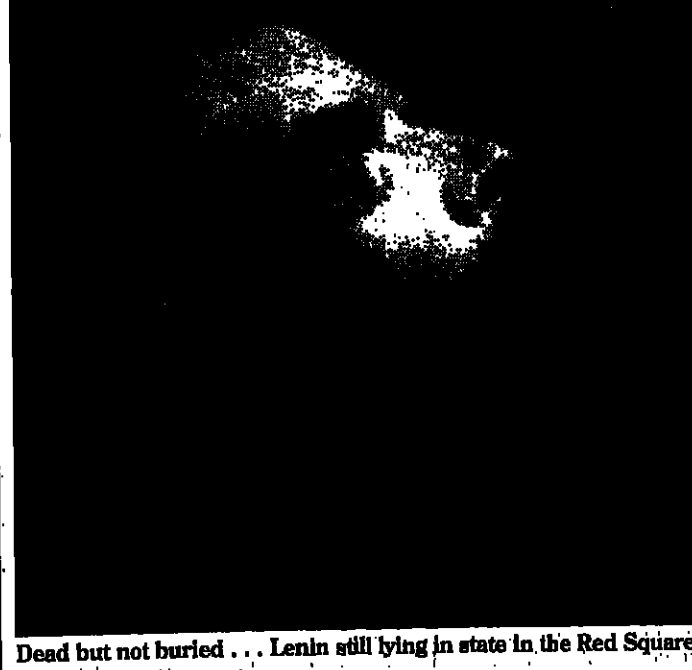
Jean-Baptiste Naudet in Moscow

TWO dead men in a poor state of preservation are proving something of a millstone for Russia, a newly democratic, republican and capitalist country that has long turned its back on both Soviet totalitarianism and Tsarist absolutism.

For almost 79 years the country's last tsar, Nicholas II, who was executed with his family by the Bolsheviks in 1918, has been awaiting a decent burial. His remains have been exhumed from a common grave in Sverdlovsk, but are being kept in a cardboard box at the city morgue until such time as they are taken to their final resting place.

For 73 years, the embalmed body of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov — better known as Lenin — has been lying in a mausoleum on Red Square which remains open to the public, except during his annual chemical bath.

On the grounds that it is high time the new Russia stopped treating its last tsar with contempt and honoured its first first secretary, it has been proposed that they should both be buried — and the hatchet with them.



Dead but not buried . . . Lenin still lying in state in the Red Square

But the question of their burial, which has been dragging on since Russia became a democracy, is highly controversial and embarrassing to the authorities, particularly as the two enemies may both end up in St Petersburg — the tsar because it was the imperial capital, and Lenin because it is thought he wanted to be buried there.

Even though 1997 has been proclaimed a year of "national reconciliation", the government is in a quandary. And no one more so than Boris Yeltsin, for it was he who, when party secretary in the region of Sverdlovsk, gave orders for the imperial Russian family's last residence to be demolished.

It is also a political issue. Some communists suspect that an attempt is being made to consign Lenin to oblivion, instead of giving him a proper burial, and to revive tsarism, if not the tsar.

The issue was further complicated when some members of Russia's "new élite" came round to the idea of allowing the tsar's heir to return to the throne. Analysts in Moscow attribute this sudden ideological U-turn to the fact that General Alexander Lebed, the opposition leader who has been crusading against the nomenklatura, would have a good chance of being elected to the Kremlin if Yeltsin were to make a premature exit.

Responsibility for the question of the tsar's burial and his possible canonisation has been given to the Orthodox church, which decided to set up a commission to look into the issue.

Lenin remains a problem. The Russian population is divided over the question of his burial. A recent poll showed that 48 per cent of better-educated, city-dwelling Russians were in favour of his being buried, while 38 per cent, mainly in rural areas, would prefer his mummified body to remain in the mausoleum.

Yeltsin, who has so far kept quiet about the tsar, recently made his position clear as regards Lenin: "He should be buried, as he wished, next to his mother in St Petersburg." But he immediately added: "Perhaps not straight away, but by the end of the year — or the end of the century." So the two skeletons in the cupboard of the new Russia still have plenty of life in them.

(March 21)

South Africa thinks deeply about its jails

Frédéric Chambon in Johannesburg

KHULEKANI Sithole, head of the prison service in South Africa, has come up with a novel idea: he thinks disused mines should be converted into high-security jails for the country's hardened criminals.

While his suggestion has been unanimously condemned in humanitarian and political circles, it has the support of a large majority of the population. According to a poll for a television programme, 94 per cent of those questioned said they were in favour of prisoners being incarcerated underground.

The poll result reflected South Africans' unhappiness with the rising crime rate and the inability of the police or the judicial system to do anything about it.

Sithole said underground imprisonment would provide a solution to overcrowding in jails and reduce the chances of prisoners escaping. It would also have an exemplary punitive effect. Some criminals, he said, had shown they were simply not prepared to conform to the rules of South African society. They were "animals" who should never be allowed to see the light of day again.

His remarks, which accompanied a proposal that carried overtones of concentration camps, caused an outcry from human rights associations, who denounced the "inhuman" and "barbarous" nature of the project.

The press, too, attacked what it described as the "proposal of a madman", while the political parties called for Sithole's resignation. In an attempt to take the heat out of the situation, the prisons minister said the intention was to convert the mines into "modern penal establishments". In the face of scepticism from mining experts, he confirmed that a feasibility study was under way.

The fact that Sithole should have dreamed up his proposal in the first place shows just how helpless the prison authorities feel. Like much of the South African civil service, the system they inherited was devised by a regime based on racial segregation and is quite unsuited to the post-apartheid era.

South African jails were designed to accommodate 97,000 prisoners, but now hold 124,000. Staff shortages and corruption explain why escapes have reached a record level of about 100 a month. The legal system is in no better shape: the courts are swamped with cases, short of funds and facing a backlog of 20,000 people held on remand.

The wide support enjoyed by the idea of turning mines into prisons shows how much public opinion has hardened in response to rising crime. The situation has been compounded by police inefficiency, which has resulted in a proliferation of self-defence militias.

It is all very well for the government to announce that the incidence of most types of crime is decreasing or, at worst, stagnating. But many South Africans have lost confidence in their police, their judiciary and their prisons.

(March 18)

Girls in Iran hide feelings behind veil

Private defiance behind a public mask of conformity makes it difficult for the mullahs to create the perfect Islamist society, writes **Mouna Naïm** in Tehran



REFAH High School for girls in Tehran is a private establishment that grooms pupils to become members of Iran's future élite. Its pupils, who mostly speak excellent English, are lively and quick-witted, but the pat answers they come up with when questioned show that their whole view of the world has been coloured by Islam. Or at least that is what they say.

The Iranian regime, the only one in the world headed by clergy, is keen, as it prepares to hand over to the next generation, to reconcile scientific and technological development with the rigid moral standards of Islam.

For proof of this one needs to look no further than the Research Centre for Youth Affairs, which answers to the presidency. Its job is to supervise young people in 14 "essential areas", which range from education proper to "faith, knowledge, morals, spirituality, family and marital issues, the arts, literature, science and technology, physical education, and travel and tourism".

After polling 25,000 young people, the centre drew up a list of the tastes and preferences of the younger generation. The aim was to be able to answer certain needs, but also to exclude anything that does not conform with "Islamic culture and values".

Pupils at Refah High School express themselves in the jargon of their age group (15-17), but they put across exactly the same message as their elders of 35-40 who sit on the official Women's Cultural and Social Council, which is directly responsible to Iran's supreme political and religious leader, Ali Khamenei.

What did they think of the headscarves girls had to wear from the age of nine onwards? "Wearing it has to do with women's self-respect. Muslim women who do not cover their faces are certainly Muslims, but not perfect ones." Why? "Because the Prophet Muhammad said so, because our mothers and women relatives showed us the way, because we have studied and discovered the truth by ourselves."

They discovered from articles, some of them in Western magazines, that "sex is the cause of most problems in other societies".

What did they think of the Iranian government? "No government in the world is perfect, and ours is no exception. But we trust it, and we shall help it to improve things by educating ourselves and asking for Allah's help."

What did they do in their spare time? "I study the Koran and other works, help my mother in the house and watch TV," said Zeinab. "TV programmes are good and varied. Some foreign movies are censored, but that doesn't matter because the bits cut out are not in line with our culture or our values."

Some of the girls who had travelled abroad thought other countries were OK, "but their religious message doesn't suit us". Asked if they never had the urge to do something different, like going dancing, there was a chorus of offended protest.

"You don't know how to ask the essential questions," one of them retorted. What were the essential questions? "Ask me what my aim in life is, and I'll tell you it is to learn how to be self-confident. I believe in God, in his prophet and in our imams, and it's for all those reasons that I think dancing is a waste of time. One's life should be devoted to God — and so should one's spare time."

Were these teenagers, who want to become dentists, mathematicians and geneticists or take up religious studies, really saying what they thought, or simply repeating the stereotyped discourse they had learnt since nursery school?

"When you live in a closed room and you're constantly fed the same message, you can only believe what you're told," says a young woman medical student. "The indoctrination is such that ordinary people are becoming increasingly fanatical without even realising it. God knows, I'm fed up with the regime, but I catch myself almost glaring at women in the street who don't wear socks or thick dark stockings."

She says Islamist students exert strong pressure on the university, where many faculties are not co-educational and no male lecturer is permitted to teach female students if he is young and unmarried. Although there is not much censorship in scientific disciplines, many lecturers have given up teaching social sciences because there are so many taboo subjects.

Negin, a Westernised young woman from a bourgeois background, says: "We're forced to lie if we want any peace and quiet at home. Iranians, especially the young, are hypocrites, even schizophrenics — there's often a contradiction between their way of life at home and how they have to appear in public. All young people get the same religious education — it's compulsory. Yet look at the number of people who want more freedom."

"Lots of young people don't really know what freedom means, because they've never experienced it," says Mohamad. "Some of those who have had a chance to visit a European country come back describing women there as 'sluts'."

There is, then, a big difference between women's home life and their behaviour outside. They have to respect the segregation of men and women in cinemas, buses and queues, and wear either a chador or, failing that, a headscarf and a very long coat.

But even at home there is always the danger of a raid by "guardians of the revolution" or police, who arrest all those caught in the act of dancing or drinking a glass or two of home-brewed liquor.

In front of the Tehran offices of the organisation that enforces prohibitions, dozens of people are to be found every day waiting to inquire about relatives arrested on charges of breaking a prohibition or having a "rap" appearance — slovenly clothes, unorthodox hairstyles or ostentatious sunglasses.

A FEW HUNDRED daily arrests may seem trifling, but what the people of Tehran find intolerable is the very idea that their private lives can be invaded in this way.

"But don't kid yourself," Nazanin says. "The regime is broadly representative of most people, because they either agree with its ideology or have an interest in toeing the line." Nazanin and her friends spend most of their time at home listening to banned Western music and watching videos smuggled in from the United Arab Emirates or Turkey.

"The regime will never convince me that young men and women, just because they are Islamist, do not experience the same desires and attractions as other people of their age throughout the world."

The regime seems, for the time being at least, to have adopted a "live and let live" attitude towards those who refuse to comply with its guiding principles, though it also organises the occasional crackdown as a sop to ideological hardliners.

Many dissidents belong to a social class whose money and expertise will be vital for Iran's reconstruction and development until such time as its future cadres have been trained. In 1994, the regime invited all those who had left after the revolution to return home, and sometimes even returned their confiscated property.

To prevent the next generation from being "contaminated" by a culture "from elsewhere", the regime is targeting intellectuals who might cause "subversion", while hoping traditionalist conservatives, even if they do not actively support the regime, will remain broadly sympathetic to its ideas.

The question remains: is the general trend, as some argue, bound to be towards greater tolerance whether the regime likes it or not, or will the mullahs succeed in their bid to turn Iran into a model of a truly Islamist society?

(March 12)

Paris backs down on outside force for Zaire

Francis Cornu

OVER the past few months the French government has found it increasingly difficult to defend its policy on Zaire. On more than one occasion it has given the impression it is President Mobutu Sese Seko's last remaining ally.

Only recently, President Jacques Chirac said he was "the man in the best position to represent his country", while the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, claimed he was "the only person capable of resolving the problem" of Zaire's territorial integrity.

No doubt realising that its position had become untenable, France has now come out in support of the UN-appointed mediator, Mohamed Sahnoun. On March 17, it appealed to all the parties involved in the Zairean crisis to support his peace plan, which calls for an immediate ceasefire.

"We continue to support Sahnoun's action, for the continuation of military conflict can only be destructive," says Jacques Rummelhardt, a French foreign ministry spokesman. When asked about Mobutu's health, he merely said that it was "the subject of further concern".

He refused to comment on remarks by the Belgian foreign minister, Erik Derijcke, who said of the rebel leader, Laurent-Désiré Kabila: "[He] is a factor that cannot be ignored. The Mobutu era ended some time ago. You can't turn the clock back."

A rather dispirited French diplomat admitted to Le Monde that France's tirelessly reiterated appeals for a large-scale international intervention to help the refugees have also fallen on deaf ears. The French government is now desperately keen for Sahnoun to achieve an early breakthrough in his mission, despite the mood of scepticism now prevailing in international diplomatic circles.

Paris says that despite appearances Sahnoun has just made "interesting progress" and that he has had frequent talks with Kabila. The two men met on March 15 in Goma, only three days after a previous meeting brokered by the Ugandan president, Yoweri Museveni.

The hope in Paris is that Sahnoun's action will succeed before or during the African summit due to be held in the Togolese capital, Lomé, on March 25-26, under the aegis of the UN secretary general, Kofi Annan.

French government sources say the "extraordinary" meeting of the Kinshasa government on March 17 was devoted to an examination of the UN peace plan's mode of enforcement, and point out, in answer to criticism of France's attitude, that its influence on Mobutu and Léon Kengo wa Dondo's government was instrumental in getting them to accept rapidly — and well before the fall of Kisangani — the broad lines of the peace plan, which provides for negotiations with Kabila.

After months of verbal skirmishing between Paris and Washington, French government officials have decided to stop voicing their differences with their American opposite numbers.

Interestingly, some French leaders are now convinced that the United States has not been acting with any Machiavellian intentions. Others, however, still fear Washington may stop short of putting real pressure on Kabila and his Ugandan and Rwandan allies, while at the same time officially warning them against any continuation of hostilities.

On this particular point, those in Paris who argue that the Americans have been acting in good faith must now feel reassured by the insistence with which Washington has reiterated its warnings.

The state department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, said on March 17 that the US government continued to be concerned about the mass of evidence that suggested the rebels were getting help from the governments of Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. He said Washington was going to raise the issue with the countries concerned.

(March 19)

Le Monde
Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani

Yeltsin Returns to Face His Critics

David Hoffman in Moscow

PRESIDENT Boris Yeltsin returned from his talks with President Clinton in Helsinki to criticism that Russia gained nothing from the meeting and warnings that ratification of the Start II strategic arms accord will depend on whether Yeltsin finally lobbies for it.

Clinton said in his radio address in the United States last Saturday that the summit is "leading the world away from the nuclear threat." But Russians said the potential for further progress in reducing strategic nuclear weapons rests on whether Yeltsin can summon the political will to do what he has not yet done — persuade Russia's lower house of parliament, the State Duma, to approve the 4-year-old treaty.

In Helsinki, Yeltsin and Clinton agreed to begin a new round of strategic-arms negotiations, Start III, to significantly reduce the levels of nuclear weapons. But their joint statement in Helsinki said those negotiations would begin only after Start II takes effect.

The Start II nuclear-arms-reduction treaty was signed by Yeltsin and then-President Bush in January 1993 and was ratified by the U.S. Senate last January, but it has made no headway in the Duma, where communists and nationalists are the largest factions.

Yeltsin told a news conference in Helsinki, "I expect the State Duma will make a decision based on my advice." However, backers of the treaty in the Russian parliament have complained for a long time that Yeltsin's support was practically invisible. They repeated last Saturday that unless he makes a concerted effort to overcome the Duma's opposition, the treaty will continue to languish.

"What we will really need is a real promotional campaign. Until now we haven't had this kind of campaign," said Vladimir Averchev, a legislator from the centrist Yabloko bloc who serves on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Yeltsin's long illness and the distractions of the presidential campaign last year have left the strategic-arms accord low on parliament's list of priorities. Even those members who support ratification have bemoaned the lack of support from Yeltsin's administration in answering critics and explaining how it would affect Russia's weakened defense forces.

Yeltsin promised last year to get the treaty ratified by April, but then nothing happened. When then-Defense Secretary William J. Perry came to the Duma last October to make a pitch for the treaty, he ran into a buzz saw of opposition.

The Start II treaty provides for between 3,000 and 3,500 warheads on each side. The treaty requires dismantling the more-dangerous multi-warhead missiles, which the Soviet Union had deployed. But critics say Russia now cannot afford to build up to the maximum level of single-warhead missiles that would be needed to remain on a par with the United States. The lower levels being discussed for a new treaty — between 2,000 and 2,500 warheads — would be easier for Russia, but the United States is insisting the Start II treaty be ratified before new, lower levels are negotiated.

Moreover, the Start II treaty has become enmeshed among communists and nationalists in a parliamentary backlash to NATO expansion. Yeltsin and Clinton remained deadlocked over NATO expansion at their talks but agreed to keep working on a NATO-Russia charter. Yeltsin dropped his earlier demand that the charter should be legally binding.

"Yeltsin got what he deserved: a complete no," said Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov. "The impression was as if he was summoned by the master who listened to him first and then said, 'The decision has already been taken.'" Zyuganov, who lost to Yeltsin in last year's presidential election, said Yeltsin "got it in the backside from his friend Bill."

Another Duma member from Yabloko was also critical. Mikhail Yuryev told the Interfax news agency that "the enlarged NATO will be directed against Russia." He said Russia must "re-examine its foreign-policy priorities" and "start to gradually form . . . new blocks to oppose NATO," suggesting Russia look to Iran, India and China as allies who "dislike the West."

A nationwide strike was being planned for March 27 because of wage and pension delays. Ruslan Aushev, president of the Russian republic of Ingushetia, told Interfax that Russia should not be obsessed with NATO expansion. "We now have so many problems, especially economic ones, which are far more important than this issue, problems that need to be solved without delay," he said.

Beijing Fury At Visit By Dalai Lama

Keith B. Richburg in Kaohsiung, Taiwan

THE scene last Saturday at the airport in this southern port city must rank among China's worst nightmares: the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan "god-king" denounced for trying to "split the motherland" landing on the shores of this breakaway island accused of plotting its own move toward independence.

Outside the airport terminal there was a boisterous display of the kind of street democracy still unheard of in Communist-controlled China. Tibetans and Taiwanese called for independence and denounced Beijing. Human-rights advocates handed out brochures challenging China's record on political repression. Occasional scuffles broke out between separatists and smaller groups calling for China to remain unified.

The Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, said his trip to Taiwan — seen by Beijing as a renegade province — was purely religious in nature. China, which has occupied Tibet since invading it in 1950 and also claims sovereignty over Taiwan, lashed out at the visit; the official People's Daily called it "a political crusade upheld by splittist and Tibetan independence forces collaborating within Taiwan to split the motherland."

The six-day trip was the Dalai Lama's first to Taiwan, and he was being feted with the red-carpet treatment normally accorded a head of state. If Taiwan is considered a part of China — and the rival governments on opposite sides of the Taiwan Strait agree it is — then last Saturday also marked the first time he set foot on Chinese soil since he and thousands of followers fled their Himalayan homeland in 1959.



The Dalai Lama salutes supporters during his Taiwan visit PHOTOGRAPH: LEE CHUAN HSIEN

In his arrival statement, the Dalai Lama stressed the spiritual, non-political nature of his visit. He talked about human values and the need to maintain spiritual harmony amid breakneck economic development. He spoke of himself as "just another human being" and declined to engage a reporter on whether his presence was likely to further enrage China. But he did say he was looking forward to meeting Taiwan's first democratically elected president, Lee Teng-hui, who, like the Dalai Lama, has been accused in official Chinese rhetoric of being a "splittist" out to divide China.

"I'm looking forward to seeing your president, Lee Teng-hui," the Dalai Lama said, speaking slowly in English. "Of course I always keep in my mind my activities . . . should not cause embarrassment to anybody. But the president seems willing to see me, so I am honored."

The meeting with Lee, due to take place on March 27, was expected to infuriate China's rulers.

The Dalai Lama has canceled a planned speech to Taiwan's democratically elected legislature, apparently to avoid causing further trouble with Beijing. A spokesman was quoted as saying the speech was scrapped because of the spiritual leader's strong desire "not to cause any inconvenience or embarrassment to the host government."

After his brief airport statement, the ocher-robed Dalai Lama was driven through flag-draped streets to his hotel and then to southern Taiwan's famed Fokuangshan temple. During his visit, he planned to hold a series of prayer meetings at stadiums.

If he and his backers were trying to play down the political symbolism of this trip, the word had not reached the hundreds who came here by the bus load, carrying banners denouncing China and proclaiming independence for Tibet and Taiwan.

Members of Taiwan's pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party were out in full force, with their green-and-white flag and a banner reading, "We support an independent Taiwan and Tibet." The party nationally has lately been de-emphasizing its pro-independence stance, but the local chapter here had no reservations about making the party's position known.

"When you're running for office, people know you are for independence, so it's not necessary to say it every day," one party official explained from behind the banner.

Also on hand was the Taiwan Independence Party, a breakaway group that split from the Democratic Progressive Party over accusations that the Democrats were growing soft in their independence position.

Tibetans also turned out in large numbers, wearing traditional costume. They held signs with slogans such as "Tibet Is Free!"

A Useful Summit

EDITORIAL

RUSSIA'S power has faded steadily over the past 10 years, but the iconography of Moscow-Washington summits remains generally unchanged, producing an odd phenomenon.

Two leaders of more or less equal geopolitical weight could once come to a hard-fought compromise and then go home and crow. Now there is not much to stop President Clinton scoring an easy victory, but he must be careful not to proclaim it. Such tact allows Russian President Boris Yeltsin to go on co-operating and to claim victory, or at least a draw, when he returns to Moscow. But it also complicates Clinton's efforts to convince skeptics in the U.S. and in central Europe that he hasn't sold out U.S. or third-country interests.

In Helsinki last week, Clinton got what he wanted — de facto Russian acquiescence of NATO expansion eastward. In return, it appears that he gave Yeltsin small wins — this June's G-7 meeting in Denver will be called "the Summit of the Eight" — and "concessions" that are as much in U.S. interest as in Russia's, such as a pledge to further reduce nuclear-weapon arsenals. Still, both sides must portray the package as a carefully balanced compromise.

All that said, it's also true that this was a useful, productive summit. Yeltsin came to Helsinki with a weak hand, but he played it well, both tactically and as a matter of principle. He couldn't stop NATO accepting new members, such as Poland, but he could have lobbed some rhetorical hand grenades as he retreated and thereby shaken up Europe. That would have been self-defeating in the long run, but it might have felt good for a time.

Instead he chose a statesman's role. Europe and the world were watching, he said before the eight-hour talks, "that we do not lose the partnership that has developed in recent years . . . We will part from the summit as friends."

Potentially the most sensible accomplishment of the day was the two leaders' agreement on a new arms-control treaty, known as Start III, under which each side would reduce, by the year 2007, its strategic nuclear arsenal to between 2,000 and 2,500 warheads — one-fifth of the levels of five years ago.

Russia has yet to ratify Start II, in part because it would have to destroy thousands of one type of weapon and then, to reach parity with the U.S., actually build a new class of missile. That's not what Russia should be spending money on, even if it had the money.

Last week's agreement provides the assurance that those new weapons won't have to be built. But whether that's enough to persuade Russia's parliament to ratify Start II is uncertain — and without Start II, Start III can't happen.

Tobacco Firm Settles Suits

John Schwartz
and Saundra Torry

THE smallest of the major American tobacco companies settled 22 state lawsuits last week by admitting that smoking causes cancer and other diseases, that nicotine is addictive and that the industry targets underage smokers — concessions that could have repercussions for the entire industry.

Liggett Group Inc. also agreed to release thousands of pages of internal documents that could provide damaging evidence in lawsuits still pending against other cigarette makers and to provide Liggett employees to testify as witnesses in those cases.

Minnesota Attorney General Hubert H. Humphrey III compared the Liggett action to "turning state's evidence," and said, "this is a little like busting a street drug dealer to get at the Colombian drug cartel."

"I believe this is the beginning of the end of this conspiracy of lies and deception," said Arizona Attorney General Grant Woods at the news conference where the agreement was announced. "Someone is finally telling the truth."

Breaking for the second time with the tobacco industry's united front, Liggett also agreed to beef up the warning labels on its products and pay 25 per cent of pretax profits to the states for the next 25 years. The money would be used to help pay for the costs of treating smokers' health problems and for anti-smoking programs, which is what the original lawsuits had sought.

Before the deal was even signed, the other major tobacco companies denounced the agreement and raced to court in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, where they won a court order temporarily blocking Liggett from releasing documents covered by other companies' attorney-client privilege.

Liggett immediately released a handful of documents that it determined were not covered by attorney-client privilege to the attorneys general, and sent the thousands of pages of protected documents to courts around the country hearing the state suits. If a judge determines that the documents show that crimes or fraud had occurred, the legal protections for those papers could be broken.

The first state trial begins on June 2 in Mississippi. The documents also could be used in some 200 other individual and class-action lawsuits filed against cigarette makers by smokers, ex-smokers and people who say they are victims of secondhand smoke.

In addition, federal prosecutors investigating the tobacco industry said they would be taking a close look at the documents as possible evidence of fraud and false statements to Congress and government agencies. A Justice Department spokesman said "the department will seek any information and documents that are germane to its investigation."

'This is like busting a street dealer to get at the Colombian drug cartel'

The admission that companies target children could also help the Clinton administration's initiative giving the Food and Drug Administration power to limit youth access to tobacco products, which is currently being challenged in federal court in North Carolina.

The other major tobacco companies were quick to denounce the agreement, saying it was part of an ongoing effort by Liggett Chairman Bennett S. LeBow in his bid to sell Liggett to RJ. Reynolds. Under the new agreement, a company that acquires Liggett would be protected from some of the financial obligations of mounting an appeal if it loses one of the suits. The new agreement comes a short time before the annual meeting of RJR's shareholders.

Tobacco stocks fell on news of the agreement on Thursday last week. Philip Morris, the world's biggest tobacco firm, was down 5 percent to \$115.87½, and fell to \$115.30 on Friday. RJR Nabisco Holdings lost 2 percent on Thursday, closing at \$31.50.

Tobacco industry analysts were unimpressed by the news. "I don't think this settlement is anything earthshaking," said Diana K. Temple of Salomon Brothers.

But experts and anti-smoking activists said Wall Street had failed to account for the impact Liggett's admissions could have on juries weighing tobacco liability cases. If Liggett documents showed the industry had been lying for generations, it could also alienate tobacco companies' traditional defenders in Congress and state legislatures.

Liggett first broke ranks with the tobacco industry in March 1996, when LeBow announced that the company had settled with five of the states that had sued at that time, and had reached a separate agreement with attorneys mounting a massive class-action suit against the industry in New Orleans.

Since that agreement, however, the so-called Castano class-action suit was thrown out by a federal appeals court last year, causing it to be broken up into several smaller suits. At the same time, the number of states suing the industry has climbed to 22, and a number of cities and counties have also filed lawsuits.

Although all of the states have joined the Liggett settlement, one of the major participants has refused to sign: Blue Cross Blue Shield of Minnesota, which joined Humphrey to mount what is probably the biggest litigation effort. Minnesota has gathered more than 26 million industry documents in warehouses in the state and outside of London.

The insurer objected to a provision of the agreement that attempts to create a "settlement class" of plaintiffs whose rights to sue would be foreclosed. "We won't be part of any type of settlement that promises much, but delivers little," said Andy Azajkowski, president and chief operating office of Blue Cross.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

TB Epidemic Levels Off Under Low-Cost Strategy

Curt Suplee

A STRICT but inexpensive tuberculosis control program has caused the worldwide TB epidemic to level off for the first time in years at an estimated 16 million to 20 million active cases, the World Health Organization reported last week.

Global implementation of the strategy, called "directly observed treatment short-course" (DOTS), could prevent as many as 10 million deaths worldwide during the next 10 years, the WHO projected in a new report.

DOTS, in which health workers ensure that patients take all their medicine for a full six-month course of treatment, "produces cure rates as high as 95 per cent, even in the poorest of countries," the report said. The approach eventually could "cut in half" the global trend of the disease, which results in 6 million to 8 million new cases annually, the WHO said. Before 1996, incidence had been rising by more than 1 million cases a year, and WHO had predicted an annual increase of 10.2 million cases by 2000.

Three-quarters of the world's TB cases are in 13 countries, including China, India, Bangladesh, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico and Zaire. Conditions are particularly severe in Pakistan, Ethiopia, Thailand, the Philippines, South Africa and Russia. In Russia alone, incidence increased 70 per cent from 1991 to 1996, and the TB death rate rose 90 per cent.

But the report emphasized that a global DOTS strategy also should be endorsed by affluent nations because "there is no other feasible way to protect the world's 500 million annual international travelers — and the people they return home to." And the specter of proliferating drug-resistant strains, WHO noted, threatens "everyone who breathes air, from Wall Street to the Great Wall of China."

Worldwide, WHO estimates that as many as 2 billion people are infected with the TB bacterium, the world's leading infectious killer of adults in the prime years between ages 15 and 59. However, only a small fraction of those will develop an active case of the disease.

The DOTS program requires local health-care personnel to guarantee that TB patients take the entire six-month course that combines four strong, proven medications. Often, to save money, avoid inconvenience or elude social stigma, infected people quit the drug regimen as soon as they feel better, but long before the disease is stopped.

In China, the DOTS regimen achieved 94 percent cure rates, he said; elsewhere it consistently produced 85 percent rates.

The cost of the entire course of treatment is about \$100 per patient in less developed countries, where health-care labor costs are low, Bumgarner said. "On a per capita basis, that's not much more than 10 cents" for each person in the total population, he said. So it is affordable by "even the poorest countries, which may be spending \$5 or \$6 per capita per year on health care."

The microbe that causes TB — Mycobacterium tuberculosis — is extremely hardy, easily spread by coughing and contagious through the air. As a result, "when a patient is not cured," the WHO report warns, "he or she will infect, on average, 10 to 15 friends, family and co-workers each year."

Halting treatment prematurely also encourages the growth of multiple drug-resistant strains of the TB bacterium because the strongest, most virulent types survive a few doses of antibiotics. WHO estimates that as many as 50 million persons are infected with multiple drug-resistant TB, including 18 percent of the cases in Lithuania and 14 percent in Estonia. Because there are no drugs to treat it, multiple drug-resistant TB is "virtually a death sentence, even in developed countries," said Richard Bumgarner, deputy director of WHO's Global TB Programme in Geneva.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Salvadoran Left Wins Via Ballot Box

Douglas Farah in San Salvador

WHEN Hector Silva sneaked back into the country 12 years ago to begin organizing political support for Marxist guerrillas and a negotiated end to the nation's civil war, he could not have foreseen that his journey would culminate with his election as the mayor of San Salvador.

But Silva's stunning victory in this capital of 1.4 million is the most visible sign of the political tremor that shook El Salvador on March 16 during legislative and municipal elections. For the first time, former Marxist guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) won through the ballot box what they had sought during 12 years of war against the U.S.-backed government: a measure of real power within the political system.

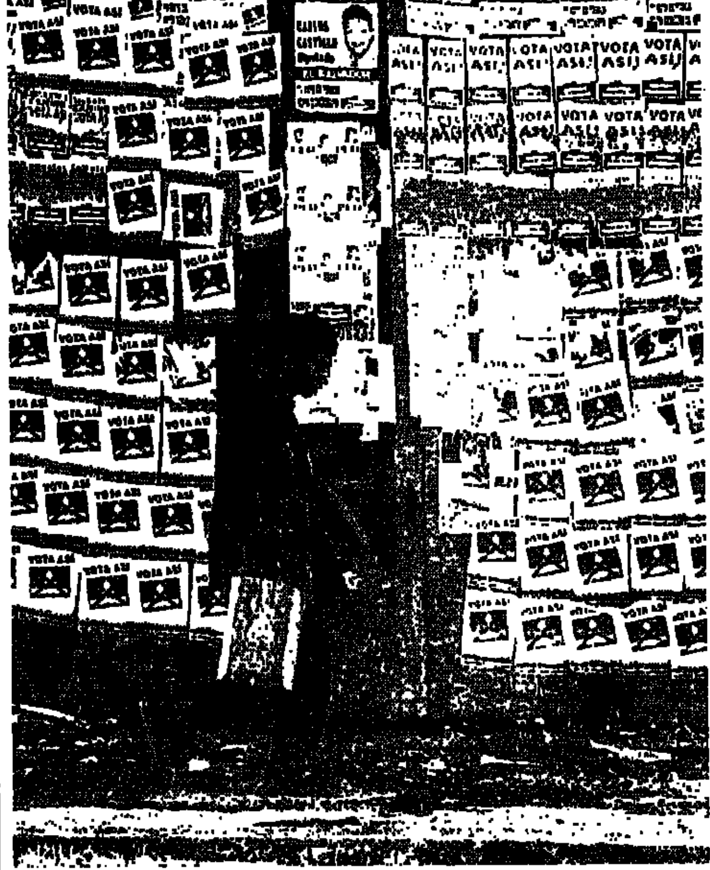
Silva, 49, a U.S.-educated gynecologist, was a political ally of the FMLN, but not a member or a combatant. However, the FMLN was by far the largest party in the coalition Silva led to victory, making him the most visible elected leftist official in Central America.

His election and other FMLN gains reversed a tide that has seen the left and its revolutionary rhetoric swept from the political scene across the region.

"The future of the country and the city depend on two things," Silva said in an interview. "First is the FMLN: how it acts and if it understands that governing is judged on results, and that it has to deliver. The second is the private sector, which has to understand it has to share a little more. If it wants to strangle my administration, that will be a problem."

While the final tally is not in, the FMLN won at least seven of the 14 state capitals, including not only the national capital, but the nation's second-largest city, Santa Ana. It is expected to win about 100 of the 262 municipalities, up from 14 in 1994.

And the FMLN was narrowly edged out as the biggest party in the 84-seat legislative assembly. While the FMLN won 28 seats, up from 12, the governing Republican Nationalist Alliance (Arena) won 29 seats, down from 38 in the previous assembly. The rest of the seats are held by a variety of smaller parties.



Every vote counts . . . A man walks past election posters in San Salvador, where Hector Silva was the victor PHOTOGRAPH DOUGLAS ENGLE

The strong FMLN showing has sent shock waves through Arena, which has dominated the political scene since 1988, handily winning the past four elections, two for the presidency and two for municipal and legislative offices. Arena leaders claimed their followers stayed home because they were overconfident.

At a news conference on March 20, President Armando Calderon Sol said Arena had to begin a "process of analysis and reflection" to see why its power share shrank so much, and to begin preparing for the 1999 presidential elections.

Arena was set up in 1980 as part of a paramilitary structure aimed at wiping out communism, represented by the FMLN. While Arena has become more institutionalized and the FMLN has laid down its weapons as part of a 1992 U.N.-brokered peace agreement and has become a legal party, antagonisms still exist.

During the 1980s, the United States, fighting proxy wars against the Soviet Union, poured \$6 billion in economic and military aid into this Vermont-sized country of 6 million in an effort to defeat the FMLN.

Luis Cardenal, president of the Chamber of Commerce, said there was "moderate concern" among the business community that the FMLN, with its new strength, would revert to its Marxist ideology and begin nationalizing industries and driving away foreign investment. He acknowledged Silva's reputation for integrity and moderation and said he hoped all sides could work together.

"Six years ago these same people used Marxist discourse, calling for socialism and against private enterprise," Cardenal said in an interview. "They were outside the law. Now they have a chance to support their new discourse with actions, and I hope they do. The conditions around the world and in this country have changed."

Perhaps nothing better measures the change than the fact that Mario Valiente, the outgoing mayor of San Salvador and Arena leader, called Silva to congratulate him, as did Calderon Sol.

It was the first time Arena had to concede a major electoral defeat to its former armed enemies, and it was especially painful because the mayor of San Salvador is widely considered the second-most powerful elected position in the country.

But there is concern the central government, which provides some funding for the capital, and big businessmen who support Arena could try to choke Silva's administration.

"The true test of the elections will be how much support the municipality gets from the central government in a place where the latter holds all the cards and most of the money," said political analyst Leonel Gomez.

Silva, sitting in a modest office that served as his campaign headquarters, said he had been invited to meet with leaders of the private sector and would try to convince them that withholding funds from his administration would be bad for the country and the democratic process.

Silva, who was born in Massachusetts, where his father studied at Harvard University, said the fact that the FMLN let him run as their candidate, rather than a party militant or former combat commander, showed thinking had changed.

Court Asked To Rule On Internet

Joan Biskupic
and John Schwartz

IN THE Supreme Court's first venture into cyberspace, the justices seemed receptive last week to the idea that the government should shield children from sexually indecent materials on the Internet. But they were skeptical about whether a broad new federal law aimed at limiting computer pornography unfairly censors users of the network that connects millions worldwide.

During a 70-minute session with two premier legal advocates, the justices expressed uncertainty about how to deal with the emerging technology and concern about how much control Congress should have as it attempts to regulate a growing sphere of public conversation.

The case, one of the most closely watched this term, immerses the high court in a complex and unexplored area of free speech with potential implications for lawmakers and parents, librarians and educators, and online businesses. A crowd filled the courtroom as free-speech activists and anti-pornography advocates gathered in the snow outside.

At issue is a law passed last year that makes it illegal to transmit sexually explicit material to anyone under age 18. The law excludes from prosecution those who make a "reasonable, effective and appropriate" attempt to keep indecent material out of the hands of minors.

While some justices suggested Congress was stifling constitutionally protected conversations between adults, it seems unlikely the high court will rule with the unanimity of the special three-judge panel that struck down the law last summer. Although the high court could ultimately find that the Communications Decency Act violates the First Amendment, the justices last week seemed sharply divided in both inclination and legal approach. A decision in Reno vs. American Civil Liberties Union may occur by July.

Some justices were troubled by how freely minors can get access through their computers to pornography, which they cannot get in bookstores or adult theaters. But they also questioned the practicality of enforcing the law: How, say, could someone sending sexually explicit material screen out children yet still communicate with adults?

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor described the Internet as "a public place . . . much like a street corner or a park." But reflecting some of her ambivalence as well as that of others on the bench, she later suggested that Congress may have authority to restrict a narrow category of "patently offensive" materials.

Arguing in defense of the federal law, Deputy Solicitor General Seth P. Waxman said an unregulated Internet "threatens to give every child with access to a computer a free pass to the equivalent of every adult bookstore and theater in the country."

He added that "it is technically feasible to screen for age." Although the lower court that first reviewed the law said it would be prohibitively expensive for noncommercial Internet users to verify the ages of potential recipients, Waxman insisted teenagers could be stopped from accessing indecent material through the use of identification numbers distributed only to adults.

Campaign Finance Eludes Easy Solution

OPINION
David S. Broder

ONE DOOR to reforming the campaign finance system was shut last week but another, more promising one was pushed further open.

A Senate vote proved conclusively that the Constitution will not be amended this year to make government regulation of political spending easier. After a few days of desultory debate, the Senate voted 61-38 to kill a constitutional amendment that would have allowed Congress and the legislatures to set "reasonable limits" on spending for federal and state elections. The amendment would have reversed a 1976 Supreme Court decision that said unless a candidate voluntarily accepts spending limits, restrictions on the size of his campaign treasury violate his First Amendment freedom of speech.

The proposed amendment was adapted from one Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-South Carolina, has offered in the past and was endorsed this year by the Democratic leaders of the Senate and House.

The public clearly wants reform, and many members of Congress also want to stop the runaway fund-raising race. But 11 of the 45 Democrats and 50 of the 54 voting Republicans discerned the danger the amendment posed to essential democratic freedoms. As Sen. Robert Bennett, R-Utah, noted, incumbents would be tempted to decide that a "reasonable limit" on spending was so low that challengers would, in effect, have no chance to compete against someone enjoying the perks of office.

The broader threat to First Amendment freedoms was pointed up by the range of organizations that sent representatives to a pre-vote news conference organized by Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Kentucky, the leading opponent of the Hollings amendment and of other legislative efforts to limit campaign spending.

They included not only such Republican allies as the National Rifle Association, the Christian Coalition, the National Right to Life Committee, the National Association of Realtors and the National Association of Business Political Action Committees, but such liberal organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Education Association and the National Rural Letter Carriers union. Disagree as they might on other issues, they came together out of a shared conviction that, as McConnell put it, the proposed amendment would "cut a big hunk out of the First Amendment."

That fear is not easily dismissed. Earlier in the same week, a more hopeful note emerged from a conference arranged by Paul Taylor, executive director of the Free TV for Straight Talk Coalition, working with the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. Taylor, a former Washington Post reporter now employed by the Pew Charitable Trusts, enlisted Walter Cronkite and a host of other big names, who last fall pressured television broadcasters into giving presidential candidates blocks of free time to speak directly to the voters.

The conference reviewed the results of that experiment and debated what might come next. The report card, prepared by the Annenberg Center and released last week, gave mixed grades. With broadcast times varying from network to network (instead of the nightly, prime-time slot Taylor had hoped for) and with little publicity, the programs were seen by only one-fifth of the voters surveyed — most of them already avid consumers of political information.

On the other hand, the programs were judged to be informative and relatively free of personal attacks and inflammatory language.

Cronkite told the conference that it is now incumbent on the networks to expand the free time option and promote the programs better. President Clinton said the Federal Communications Commission should make free time for candidates part of the "public service requirement" broadcasters must fulfill in return for their free (and highly profitable) use of the public airwaves.

There were dissenters. Two political consultants, one from each party, objected to the requirement that the candidates speak for themselves in free time, as it meant the emotion-laden visual images and sound effects they love would be barred — an infringement, they said, of their First Amendment rights and a barrier to effective communication.

Too Easy to Digest

James Ledbetter

AMERICAN DREAMERS: The Wallaces and Reader's Digest — An Inside Story
By Peter Canning
Simon & Schuster. 379pp. $27.50

THE SAGA of DeWitt and Lila Wallace, founders of Reader's Digest, is so rich and emblematically American that it has inspired a half-dozen books over the years. Peter Canning's book distinguishes itself by giving a view from deep inside the RD world — he was the magazine's managing editor for years — that thankfully avoids the superficiality associated with the average memoir.

From the outside, the Wallace story is a shining American fable of entrepreneurship rewarded. The idea behind Reader's Digest was stunningly simple, an extension of Wallace's early attempts to help farmers by printing summaries of freely available Agriculture Department pamphlets. The magazine boom of the teens and '20s gave Wallace ample raw material to present readers with a broader sample of articles "of enduring value."

Unlikely as it seems to those accustomed to the Digest's contemporary aura of moral conservatism, the first issues were actually published from Greenwich Village's MacDougal Street, a main artery of bohemian life during the Roaring Twenties. Indeed, the Wallaces recruited tipsy speakeasy regulars to wrap and mail copies of the first issue in January 1922.

No one could have anticipated its success. By 1941, the RD circulation was an astounding four million. Even more extraordinary was the Wallaces' generosity toward employees: During the Depression, Wallace paid his managing editor and business manager more than $100,000 a year; to this day, journalists covet the high pay and leisurely pace of Digest jobs.

Although easily mocked, the Digest formula — emphasizing optimism, simplicity and pragmatism — obviously tapped deeply into the American psyche. On occasion the Digest provided genuine public service: One of the earliest articles on the horrors of automobile safety, "And Sudden Death," ran in the August 1935 issue, prompting thousands of reprints and letters.

By the late '40s, Reader's Digest was the planet's most successful magazine, reaching 16 million readers worldwide and providing the Wallaces with far more money than a couple could possibly spend. As Canning deftly shows, however, the Horatio Alger facade hid darker sides. While Canning never quite says that Lila Wallace was extramaritally prolific, he strongly implies it. Meanwhile, DeWitt carried on a bizarre, seven-year affair with his niece that consisted primarily of groping her during lengthy daytime binges in Manhattan bars.

As the Wallaces grew older, they isolated themselves in a castle called High Winds, losing touch with readers and staff alike. DeWitt's dedication to a simple idea made him reluctant to accept innovations — advertising, publishers' sweepstakes — that eventually became irresistible. Almost as inevitably, the growth of the RD empire attracted a shocking number of leeches at all levels. From Manhattan lawyers who finagled sweetheart stock deals down to servants who helped themselves to gold platters, the Wallaces became quintessential suckers.

Canning's research into the company's interior pays off dearly as his narrative arrives in the 1980s. With the Wallaces withdrawal, the empire threatened to crumble. Financially, the magazine was torn between those who clung to Wallace's vision of a service to readers and employees and those who clamored for greater profits; editorially, the rift was between traditionalists in New York and the hard right-wing Washington bureau, which viewed the Digest's international presence as a handy conduit for CIA propaganda. The latter won out in a 1984 coup.

In its denouement, American Dreamers becomes almost comic. Canning's access to limo drivers and gardeners makes the book read like some real-life Wuthering Heights, where servants control the destinies of falling families.

At times Canning's closing chapters threaten to become tracts against two principals — Barnabas McHenry and Laurance Rockefeller — whom Canning blames for some of the more extreme white-collar rip-offs of RD stock. While Canning's evidence of inappropriate conduct is convincing — legal decisions were being made in DeWitt Wallace's name well after his mental and physical faculties had deteriorated — it's rarely clear what, if any, alternatives were possible. The fall of the house of Wallace was brought on by greed and corporate modernization; Canning's skill is in documenting how those indomitable forces combined to make a very American tragedy.



Cast of thousands . . . Henry Moore's Mother And Child shows the open-jawed child reaching for the nipple

The Breast of the Matter

Marina Warner

A HISTORY OF THE BREAST
By Marilyn Yalom
Knopf. 331 pp. $29.95

WAX replicas of parts of the body have been found in the most ancient shrines; some of these reproduce women's breasts, offerings made no doubt to forestall infant mortality or wasting disease. The word in Greek for a woman's breast — mamme — clearly identifies it above all with motherhood. Early erotic associations, distinct from nurture and survival, seem to stir in such famous wonders of antiquity as the snake goddess of the Minoans, brandishing serpents in her flounced Sunday best, and in the coquettishness of the Venus *pudica* pose, when the goddess shields her breast and her pubic cleft and, in so doing, draws attention to them.

Marilyn Yalom has chosen a rich and fascinating theme. A History Of The Breast opens grandiloquently: "I intend to make you think about women's breasts as you never have before." The author's basic metaphor for approaching her theme is drawn from the school of libertarian thought about rights that sees everything as property. "Who owns the breast?" she asks truculently, a lawyer at the rostrum: She has called many remarkable female witnesses — such as the 17th-century midwife Louise Bourgeois; Fanny Burney, with her excruciating, courageous account of her mastectomy, in 1811, performed at home, without opiates of any kind; and the Mexican artist Frida Kahlo. But Yalom also relies on male testimony and drifts away from her appointed task; necessarily, many of the images in this richly illustrated volume are man-made, eloquent of their trespassing hungers.

Speeding through changes in taste and focus, Yalom stops to contemplate Dutch domestic ideals, pre-Enlightenment wet-nursing and the propaganda for mother's milk. She introduces some powerful material about "mammies," who nursed the master's offspring on the plantations, often at the expense of their own. "Modern democracies," she writes harshly, "invented the politicized breast and have been cutting their teeth on it ever since." This is synthetic history, born of papers of a thousand conferences, the cud of many pastures.

The strongest chapters bring the history up to date, with "the psychological breast" and "the medical breast," when Marilyn Yalom's sympathy and involvement liven up her tone. She reviews psychoanalytical theories of the Good and Bad Breast, which inspired, for example, some of Henry Moore's most savage Mother and Child sculptures, showing the baby open-jawed and snatching like a nursing shark. Yalom parodies Freud's theory of penis envy, substituting the breast: The passage is funny and convincing. She also has a vivid sense of the current breast-cancer crisis: "One in eight or nine American women can expect to be diagnosed with the disease," she writes. She struggles to cover the turmoil of artistic — and cosmetic — ventures through which women are reclaiming the breast: in feminist pornography (Annie Sprinkle), nipple rings, poetry. There are some mawkish examples, but Sharon Olds's erotic lines on making love while feeding a baby have an unveiled immediacy that excepts them.

But the book doesn't reach into that American imagery that has fetishized large breasts (and penises) any more satisfyingly than it manages to persuade when it comes to such vexed issues as women's porn and body piercing. The individualist argument — if it's a woman doing it, it's her body, so that must be O.K. — simply doesn't meet the sensitivities and complexities of the debate over time, or, indeed, in individual lives. Oddly, after several hundred pages, A History Of The Breast leaves this most powerful of bodily symbols thoroughly exposed but still a mystery.

Communal Eden Before the Fall

Dwight Garner

THE BEACH
By Alex Garland
Riverhead. 384 pp. $23.95

ALEX GARLAND, at age 26, seems like a natural-born storyteller. He's written a furiously intelligent first novel about backpacker culture in Southeast Asia, a book that moves with the kind of speed and grace many older writers can only daydream about. Just as impressively, Garland has written what may be the first novel about the search for genuine experience among members of the so-called X Generation — twentysomethings weaned on video games, MTV, and decades' worth of pop detritus — that's not snide or reflexively cynical.

The Beach combines an unlikely group of influences — The Heart Of Darkness, Vietnam war movies, The Lord Of The Flies, the Super Mario Brothers video game — into a propulsive tale about Richard, the book's Western narrator, whom we first meet when he arrives on Bangkok's Ko Sahn Road with a crippling case of jet lag. The Ko Sahn Road, Richard explains, is "backpacker land" — a slightly unreal place that serves as "a decompression chamber for those about to leave or enter Thailand; a halfway house between the East and the West." The place is bustling with stoned, aimless young travelers who are eager for adventure but who have a vague sense that everything worth doing has already been done — that there are no remaining unexplored corners of the world.

Richard awakens from his first night in a cheap guest house to find that another traveler, a man the Thai police can identify only as Mr. Daffy Duck, has committed suicide in an adjacent room and has left him a well-drawn map to a spot referred to only as The Beach. It's a place that Richard and others have heard rumors about — a remote, unspoiled island lagoon, sheltered from the sea and surrounded by a jungle. Along with a bored young French couple, he decides to seek it out.

The trip toward this traveler's holy grail is a nearly lethal obstacle course involving illegal boat journeys, dangerous swims, and navigating guarded pot fields. But like many members of his generation, who have never been confronted with war or mortal crisis, he feels an almost genetic need to test his mettle. "The only missing element," he says at one point, "was a Doors soundtrack."

They do eventually find their beach, and it *is* a kind of paradise — a communal Eden where a dozen or so travelers have established a self-sustaining community. Garland delivers some fine writing about group dynamics and about how Richard and his friends lose themselves in this ostensibly perfect new world.

The most dramatic sections of The Beach arrive, however, in its second half, when this Edenic life begins to spin out of control: Rivalries emerge among the settlers; paranoia sets in about others who may be trying to reach the island; local drug lords become menacing; even murder among members of the beach's community becomes plausible. Worse, Richard is haunted by the ghost of the man who left him the map.

By the book's close, things have gone spectacularly wrong in paradise. "Over the months of my beach life, I'd done enough to keep me in nightmares for the next twenty years," Richard says. Garland, on the other hand, gets nearly everything spectacularly right. This isn't a perfect novel — a few of the characters and situations are sketchier than they should be — but The Beach is nonetheless ambitious, propulsive fiction.

Steel hit by metal fatigue

Antony Barnett

BRITISH Steel loves to quote the fact that in 1979 it took more than 14 man hours to produce a tonne of liquid steel; today, it takes less than four. The result is that although it makes almost as much steel in 1997 as it did 18 years ago, its workforce has dropped from 200,000 to around 50,000.

However, despite British Steel's position as the most efficient producer in Europe — it made a record $1.7 billion profit last year — the already reduced workforce last week found out that up to 10,000 jobs are likely to go over the next five years.

The company puts most of the blame on the 20 per cent rise in the pound's value against the mark, in which European steel is traded. Each 10-pfennig fall against the pound wipes at least $150 million off the company's bottom line. But while there is no doubt that sterling's strength has hit the company's margins, analysts believe it has merely brought forward a rationalisation that was inevitable.

There is still large overcapacity in the European steel industry; some say production exceeded demand by 20 million tonnes last year.

It is this that last week led two of Germany's steel and engineering behemoths to lock horns. Krupp Hoesch announced an $8 billion hostile takeover for rival Thyssen, a bid it later abandoned after Thyssen declared it had won support from a blocking 25 per cent of shareholders opposed to the offer, and Krupp was unable to finance the takeover without incurring intolerable debt burdens. Now the two are to go ahead with a merger of their steel operations, which will come under the executive control of Thyssen, thus creating Europe's third-largest producer of crude steel. Eurofer, the European steel producers' association, welcomed the Krupp/Thyssen proposal as necessary to reduce capacity.

It is widely accepted that a radical consolidation in the European steel industry is overdue. Paul Compton, steel analyst with Merrill Lynch, has no doubts there are too many players. "There are 16 or so steel producers in Europe; we need six. Japan's steel market is the same size as Europe's and it has half a dozen. With so many operators, there will never be price stability."

Today's difficulties stem mostly from the historic and political nature of the industry. After the war, nations that had depended on steel to back their military campaigns looked to it to help rebuild their economies. Most steel producers were nationalised and those privately owned were strictly controlled. But once the post-war expansion had abated, the industry faced surplus capacity and excessive costs. In the 1970s new, highly efficient producers emerged in Japan and South Korea. Then aluminium and plastic arrived as possible replacements for steel.

The number of steelworkers in Europe dropped from more than 900,000 to about 330,000. Massive state aid was used to prop up loss-making industries, but as the burden on public finance rose, privatisation appeared to offer a way out.

British Steel was privatised in 1988, turning it from a heavy loss-maker to Europe's most profitable producer. France followed in 1995, privatising Usinor Sacilor. Italy has sold its state-owned steel producer to a private company and Spain is preparing to sell a stake in its producer, CSI — Usinor Sacilor is hotly tipped as a buyer. If this happens, it will be seen as the first of a wave of international alliances. — *The Observer*

The geek shall inherit the earth

Mark Tran in New York
on a critical shortage of computer programmers

AFTER being pursued for two years, a developer finally decided to join Microsoft, but only when the software giant agreed to pay for moving his 27 dogs. "Have you ever heard of an airline that takes 27 dogs in one shipment?" asks Microsoft recruiting director David Pritchard.

US companies facing a shortage of hi-tech workers are having to jack up salaries and dangle perks such as stock options, to lure talent. Anecdotes abound about the poaching that goes on. Silicon Valley communications company Bay Networks lost a programmer earning $80,000, who had been with the firm five years, to a consultancy offering $300,000 a year for two years.

IT workers are among the best paid in America. The average wage is $12 an hour, though many IT jobs pay $27-$70 an hour, according to the Bureau of Labour Statistics.

The dearth of IT workers threatens to slow innovation and growth in the US economy, and companies must seek employees overseas by outsourcing or moving facilities abroad. Now the US education system has come under fire for failing to produce enough hi-tech talent.

"Today, America is the undisputed leader in hi-tech products and services. Our competitive position for tomorrow is put at severe risk by children totally turned off maths and science before they leave their playground years, and by the empty seats in our university classrooms," says Harris Miller, president of the Information Technology Association of America (ITAA), which is composed of hi-tech companies.

The problem has sparked concern in the White House, Congress, universities and schools, and a commission is to be set up to tackle it.

But concerns that America is losing its edge in the information age seem premature, given its dominance of the hi-tech market. The US software industry accounts for three-quarters of the world market, nine of the world's 10 biggest software companies are located in America, personal computer penetration of the business market in the US has reached nearly 90 per cent, and more than a third of American families have PCs. In 1995, the amount of money spent on PCs, for the first time, exceeded that spent on televisions. And of the estimated 64 million Internet surfers worldwide, 41 million are in the US.

As Daniel Burton, vice-president of software company Novell, points out in Foreign Policy magazine, the US "has a robust computer hardware industry, the world's leading software industry, a telecommunications sector that is being rapidly deregulated and a strong consumer demand. Japan, by contrast, has a strong computer hardware industry but is weak in software. Europe is lagging in hardware, software and telecommunications deregulation."

America is a victim of its own success. As technology advances, it requires ever more skilled IT people to run it. Take the Internet. A study commissioned by Global Internet Project, based in Arlington, Virginia, puts the number of techies working at Net-related companies at 760,000, from virtually none five years ago. Some are running start-ups, many are signing up with the likes of Microsoft and America Online.

General economic growth and increasing reliance on technology throughout US industry are also driving demand. In a survey of 2,000 US companies published last month by ITAA, the five job titles most in demand were IT-related. The association estimates that the number of unfilled positions for IT employees in large and medium-sized American companies is about 190,000. And that number is set to soar: 82 per cent of these companies plan to boost the number of IT workers they employ.

Increased recruiting and training has failed to solve the problem: supply is simply not meeting demand. Companies are already spending a large amount of time and money head-hunting super-nerds. A third of IT companies engage in full-time recruiting to fill IT positions, and US companies spend billions on training their employees. GE Medical Systems, a unit of the General Electric conglomerate, hands out $5,000 bonuses and airline tickets as rewards to employees who recruit software personnel. No wonder 68 per cent of the companies surveyed cite the lack of skilled and trained workers as a barrier to growth.

But universities are not churning out computer students fast enough. From 1986 to 1994, the number graduating with computer science degrees fell by 43 per cent, to 24,000. Worse, 69 per cent of IT firms say few applicants possess the skills they seek. The problem lies also with schools, where maths education for 13- to 14-year-olds lags behind that of Germany and Japan.

It's not all gloom and doom. Last year the US education department said if there were an internal talent search to select the top 10 per cent of all maths students in 41 countries, 5 per cent of American students would be included.

The US also gets round the dearth of home-grown talent through immigration. Many top students from other countries study in the US and may stay on to work for US companies, the government or university research facilities.

For now, US companies are having to look abroad. Motorola and Texas Instruments have set up centres in India and elsewhere. "If I had a good supply of engineers in the US, I'd never have asked a manager of this firm to fly to Bombay," says T J Rodgers, chief executive officer of Cypress Semiconductor.

In Brief

THE pound's rapid rise against competing currencies has knocked export demand for UK manufactured foods down to its lowest level for more than three years, the Confederation of British Industry announced.

MICROSOFT shares dropped by as much as 7 per cent after the company announced that the next generation of its Windows 95 computer operating system might not be on the market until after Christmas. More than 23 million shares changed hands on the news.

SCOTTISH AMICABLE has been acquired by Prudential for $2.4 billion. More than a million policy holders will receive around $2,200 each following the takeover.

MILLIONS of Norwich Union policyholders will each receive free shares worth at least $1,000 in Britain's first flotation of a mutual insurance company.

KYRIACOS PAPOUIS, the trader at the centre of the $140 million interest rate "black hole" at NatWest Markets, is still refusing requests to co-operate with the banking group's investigation into the scandal.

THE Institute of Directors admitted that bulging pay packets for some of Britain's top bosses — particularly in the privatised utilities — had damaged the image of business and called for City institutions to press for the removal of directors who failed to perform.

FRENCH carmaker Renault has clocked up its first loss for a decade, falling FF5.25 billion ($903 million) into the red in 1996. However, the company expects to show an operating profit this year.

GUINNESS announced record profits of $1,520 million, an improvement of 5 per cent over last year that includes an expensive share buy-back last March.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling rates March 24	Sterling rates March 17
Australia	2.0463-2.0486	1.9985-2.0009
Austria	19.14-19.16	18.88-18.91
Belgium	56.11-56.22	55.34-55.44
Canada	2.2183-2.2204	2.1748-2.1779
Denmark	10.36-10.37	10.24-10.26
France	9.17-9.18	9.05-9.06
Germany	2.7204-2.7229	2.6846-2.6862
Hong Kong	12.48-12.49	12.28-12.29
Ireland	1.0240-1.0255	1.0183-1.0210
Italy	2,723-2,726	2,667-2,691
Japan	197.88-198.10	196.28-196.57
Netherlands	3.0584-3.0617	3.0203-3.0239
New Zealand	2.3140-2.3176	2.2833-2.2891
Norway	10.82-10.83	10.68-10.69
Portugal	273.65-273.96	270.16-270.68
Spain	230.87-231.10	227.93-228.25
Sweden	12.29-12.31	12.27-12.29
Switzerland	2.3488-2.3515	2.3157-2.3189
USA	1.6117-1.6128	1.5868-1.5878
ECU	1.4004-1.4047	1.3846-1.3860

FTSE100 Share Index down [illegible] at [illegible]. FTSE 250 Index down [illegible] at [illegible]. Gold down [illegible] at [illegible].

HEAD OF REGIONAL OFFICE - WEST AFRICA

£23,774 p.a. + benefits **Ivory Coast**

SCF has established a strong presence in West Africa over a number of years, and our work ranges from a large scale emergency programme in Liberia to long-term work on health, food security, social policy and other projects involved in systems management and community development. The SCF Regional Office provides advice on SCF policy and strategies to both the London HQ and field offices throughout West Africa.

As the Head of the Regional Office, you will hold a senior and influential position in an organisation undergoing an exciting period of development and change. You will be responsible, as leader of a small regional support team, for facilitating closer teamworking across the West African region in pursuit of SCF's Global Programme Strategy, and for carrying forward organisational and programme changes which will make SCF a leader in child-focused work in West Africa. This approach will be fostered by working closely with Programme Directors in the region, providing them with technical advice and information for their individual country projects. For the first 6 months the main focus of the post will be the co-ordination, compilation and operationalisation of the West Africa regional strategy in consultation with core stakeholders.

We would expect you to have experience of significant and varied international development work, preferably in West Africa, ranging from work at grass roots level to negotiating and networking at national and international level. Fluent in written and spoken French, or able to learn fast, you will need leadership and consulting skills, management experience, and considerable analytical and conceptual ability. An understanding of the political and economic situation in West Africa is also important. This is a re-advertisement, previous applicants need not re-apply. Ref: HRO/WA

REGIONAL ADVISER ON SOCIAL POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

£21,605 p.a. **Swaziland**

SCF's current programmes in Southern Africa are in Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. We are involved in a wide range of activities including health, social policy and welfare, child rights and protection, community-based work with children and adults with disabilities, education, water programmes, HIV/AIDS, rural development and emergency relief. In all these activities the intention is to focus primarily on how to improve the lives of children.

As regional adviser you will be expected to contribute to SCF's understanding of social policy and welfare issues and make recommendations on where and how SCF should place its support in the region. You will also provide support to SCF's social welfare and policy staff, and project partners in the region.

With substantial experience of working in a developing country in the social policy and social welfare sector, your experience should include one or more of the following areas: juvenile justice, child rights and child protection, disability, and children and conflict. You should also be prepared to travel extensively throughout the region and communicate effectively in Portuguese (training provided). Ref: RA/SA

RISK MAPPING ADVISER, SOUTHERN AFRICA

£19,661 p.a. **Harare**

SCF risk mapping work was begun in 1992. The initial aim was to devise a methodology for introducing economic and social information into the assessment of local food shortages, in order to go beyond the conventional food balance approach which looks only at production, food stocks and population data. A *food economy* approach has been developed which centres on households' access to food and the economic and social factors which influence this. Based on this approach a computer program, RiskMap, incorporating country-by-country databases has been created as a tool to contribute to early warning systems. SCF is promoting the use of the food economy approach and program in Southern Africa, and has created a post attached to the Food Security Technical and Administrative Unit of the Southern African Development Community.

As SCF Risk Mapping Adviser, your role will be to promote the introduction and trials of RiskMap giving technical and training support as appropriate. The initial focus is likely to be on Swaziland, Malawi and Mozambique. In addition a major part of your time will be devoted to technical support of SCF's risk mapping project in the Zambezi Valley area of Zimbabwe.

You should have 5 years' overseas working experience relating to food security and/or rural economies, training in a relevant academic discipline, and a good knowledge and conceptual understanding of development issues with particular reference to food security work. You will also have an aptitude for computer graphics and spreadsheet packages, excellent communication, presentation and training skills, and have the ability to work as part of a team. Ref: RMA/SA

The above posts are offered on 25 month contracts and have accompanied status. Salaries should be tax free. You can also expect a generous benefits package, including accommodation, flights and other living expenses.

For further details and an application form write with CV to: Jenny Thomas, Overseas Personnel Administrator, Africa, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 793 7610.

Closing date: 30th April 1997.

SCF aims to be an equal opportunities employer.

Save the Children

■ Working for a better world for children

FACULTY OF SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT: PHYSICS

Associate Professor

Requirements: Ph D in Physics; experience in teaching Physics at undergraduate and graduate level; previous employment at a university at Senior Lecturer or Associate Professor level; proven track record of research published in internationally refereed journals.

Job description: Lecturing undergraduate and postgraduate Physics; conducting and designing experiments for students; research in Physics; development of course material for Physics courses.

Date of assumption of duties: 1 January 1998.

Contact persons: Mr Andrew K Kanime at +264-61-206-3151 or Ms Monica Heita at +264-61-206-3102.

Closing date: 15 May 1997.

Fringe benefits: The University of Namibia offers competitive salaries and the following fringe benefits: ● pension fund/gratuity scheme ● medical aid scheme ● annual bonus ● housing scheme ● generous leave privileges ● relocation expenses.

Non-Namibian citizens may be appointed for a 3-year, renewable contract period. Permanent positions available for Namibians.

Application procedure: Applications in writing, accompanied by a curriculum vitae stating full details of present salary notch, increment date, the earliest available date when duty can be assumed and including three referees should be submitted to: The Head, Recruitment and Administration, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia. Preliminary telegraphic applications may be made via fax +264-61-206-3843/206-3003.



ADMARK S5831/P646

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

Media Summer School

Specialist short courses at the UK's largest centre for media education

Derived from the University of Westminster's highly respected degree programmes, the Media Summer School offers you the chance to improve your knowledge and gain useful experience in your specialist area.
The courses are taught at the Harrow Campus, equipped with industry-standard facilities and run from July 28 to August 15 1997. Fees per course are £900 including all tuition and facilities; residential accommodation is also available on campus for an additional fee.

Subject areas covered

Photography ● mastering still photography in the studio ● photojournalism
Film & Television ● scriptwriting for film & TV ● video production
Sound & Radio ● music production, composition & technology ● digital production for radio
Journalism ● broadcast journalism ● production journalism
Hypermedia & Design ● interactive media design ● design futures

For further details or to apply contact the Summer School Administrator, University of Westminster, Watford Road, Harrow, HA1 3TP. Telephone 0171 911 5978. Fax 0171 911 5910 or see http://www.wmin.ac.uk/

educating for professional life

The University of Sheffield
Department of Journalism Studies
MA Degrees

The recently established Department of Journalism Studies headed by Donald Trelford, is looking to recruit students for its two MA programmes for September 1997.

MA PROGRAMMES IN JOURNALISM STUDIES AND POLITICAL JOURNALISM

Both MAs combine a rigorous and challenging programme of academic study with relevant professional skills. Modules are taught on the following subjects: Newspaper and Broadcast Journalism, Law and Ethics, Political Journalism, Research Issues and Perspectives in Journalism Studies and European and Global Issues. In addition submission of a dissertation is required.

Further details can be obtained from the Department of Journalism Studies, The University of Sheffield, 171 Northumberland Road, Sheffield S10 2TZ. Tel: 0114-222 2500. E-mail: s.carter@sheffield.ac.uk. WWW: http://www.shef.ac.uk/].

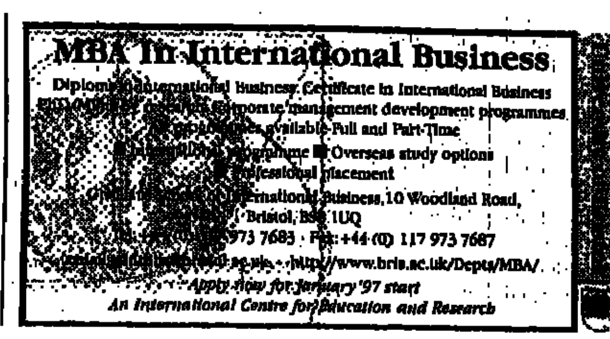
An Equal Opportunity Employer

LOUGHBOROUGH UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
Department of Electronic & Electrical Engineering
MSc in Renewable Energy Systems Technology
For further details contact:
Hilary Thompson, Centre for Renewable Energy Systems Technology (CREST) Department of Electronic & Electrical Engineering, Loughborough University of Technology, Loughborough, Leicestershire, LE11 3TU
Tel: +44 (0) 1509 223466
Fax: +44 (0) 1509 223856
email: H.A.Thompson@lut.ac.uk



FAIRFAX UNIVERSITY (USA)
- Int. Home Study degree programs
- Credits for prior learning/experience
- BA, MBA, PhD etc programs in most subjects
- Entry any time

Prospectus from UK representative office: IES Offices (GUW), P.O. Box 400 Peterborough PE2 6GD U.K. Tele/Fax: +44 (0) 1733 239923



MBA In International Business

Diploma in International Business. Certificate in International Business
... corporate management development programmes
... available Full and Part-Time
... Overseas study options
... professional placement
... International Business, 10 Woodland Road, Bristol, BS8 1UQ
... 973 7683 · Fax: +44 (0) 117 973 7687
... http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/MBA/
Apply now for January '97 start
An International Centre for Education and Research

DEPARTMENT *of* FINE ART/NATIONAL MUSEUMS *of* SCOTLAND

JOINT LECTURESHIP/ CURATORSHIP IN CHINESE ART (5 Years)

Applications are invited for a challenging new post in Chinese art combining academic and curatorial responsibilities. The post will be held jointly. The successful candidate will divide his/her time equally between teaching the history of Chinese art in a leading department with an established reputation in Western and non-Western art and curatorial, cataloguing, research and exhibition work in a national collection with major holdings of Oriental art.

Applicants should have a strong record of research and publication, proficiency in Chinese language, and professional adaptability. Teaching and/or museum experience would be an advantage. The position will be available from 1 September 1997.

Salary range c. £17,000 - £21,000.

Please quote *REF: 796178GW*

Additional information may be obtained from Professor Richard Thomson, Tel: 0131 650 4124 or e-mail R.Thomson@ed.ac.uk or Professor Mark Jones, Tel: 0131 247 4263 or e-mail MJ@nms.ac.uk

Further particulars including details of the application procedure should be obtained from

THE PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT, THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, 1 ROXBURGH STREET, EDINBURGH EH8 9TB TEL: 0131 650 2511 (24 hour answering service).

http://www.admin.ed.ac.uk/personnel/recruit.htm

Closing date: 23 May 1997 (Interviews will be held on 19 June 1997).

N·M·S

Promoting Excellence in Teaching and Research

Committed to Equality of Opportunity



Centre *for* Development Studies

MA IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

This programme offers a course of graduate study on issues related to growth and development in the Third World that draws on a wide range of knowledge and experience available at one of Britain's leading Universities. A wide range of options (on gender, tropical public health, education, famine, the state, rural development, development economics, etc.), coupled with a core course in Development Theories, Strategies and Issues and skills based modules (including Research Methodology, Introduction to Data Analysis, Project Formulation and Implementation, Project Appraisal) enable students to select a programme of study closely related to their needs.

Further information and an application form: Mrs Maura Crosland, Centre for Development Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT Telephone +44 (0) 113 233 4393; fax +44 (0) 113 233 6784 E-mail M.Crosland@leeds.ac.uk

---

Become a FREELANCE WRITER
Home study for Creative Writing, Freelance & News Journalism, English Literature & History
Start today - send for free prospectus
THE LONDON SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
GW, 22 Upbrook Mews, London W2 3HG
Fax: +44 171 706 3780 Web: www.home-study.com

Provincial Representative

KIVU based Goma, E. Zaire Salary: USD 17,095 p.a.

The Representative will manage OXFAM's Kivu programme and team of 45 staff. OXFAM has operational programmes in North and South Kivu working in the water and public health sectors and support a range of programmes through Zairean NGOs. The following skills and experience are essential: • three years' experience in development and relief work, preferably Africa • proven management experence • strong interpersonal and communication skills • fluency in written and spoken English and French.
Salary: National salary of USD 17,095 p.a. plus relocation allowance based on notional home-base salary for those crossing national boundaries Currently based in Goma, Eastern Zaire. Two year contract (1 year x 2).
Please quote ref: OS/PR/KV/AD/GW.
Closing date: 28 April 1997.
Interview date: w/c 12 May 1997.

Emergency Support Personnel

Deployed from Oxford **2 year contracts**

Oxfam's Emergencies Department exists to ensure that the organisation has the management, technical and logistical capacity to scale up and respond rapidly to major humanitarian emergencies anywhere in the world. Emergency Support Personnel (ESPs) must be physically fit, healthy and prepared to face work in what could be arduous and at times dangerous situations, sometimes in countries undergoing armed conflict.

ESP Accountant

Salary: £18,453 p.a. (UK taxable)

This post requires the ability to undertake regular overseas travel at short notice to work on emergency relief programmes for periods of up to 3 months, spending approximately 9 months of the year overseas. We are looking for an experienced part-qualified accountant with the ability to work in a wide variety of cultural contexts. Language proficiency, especially French or Portuguese, would be a major advantage. The successful candidate for this post will be based in the UK.
Please quote ref: OS/ESP/ACC/HM/GW.
Closing date: 23 April 1997.
Interview date: to be arranged.

ESP Programme Co-ordinator

Salary: £20,683 p.a. (UK taxable)

The postholder will take responsibility for the management, development and implementation of Oxfam's emergencies programme in a particular area, in a series of short term assignments. Assignments are often undertaken at short notice and normally last up to 3 months, during the first months of an emergency programme. You would spend approximately 9 months of the year overseas.
Applicants must have experience in assessment, planning and implementation of relief work, preferably gained within a major international NGO; have financial skills, and a proven record of effective management skills. Language proficiency, especially French, Spanish or Portuguese, would be an advantage. The successful candidate for this post must be based in a place with good international access and communications, but not necessarily in Oxford or the UK
Please quote ref: OS/ESP/PC/HM/GW.
Closing date: 23 April 1997.
Interview date: to be arranged.

ESP Nutritionist

Salary: £18,453 per annum (UK taxable)

Oxfam's emergency department is seeking to recruit an experienced nutritionist to join their team of Emergency Support Personnel. This group of professionals is responsible for implementing the first phase of Oxfam's emergency response programme. As the nutritionist you will be directly involved in the planning implementation of food and nutrition programmes, including for example, general ration programmes, selective feeding programmes, prevention of micronutritient deficiencies, supporting appropriate infant feeding, nutrition surveys, surveillance and food security assessments.
Assignments are normally undertaken at short notice and normally last up to 3 months. You would be expected to spend up to 9 months overseas per annum.
Applicants must have a degree or professional qualification in nutrition. Two to three years overseas experience, preferably in emergencies, is required.
Please quote ref: OS/ESP/NUT/HM/GW.
Closing date: 23 April 1997.
Interview date: to be arranged.

Emergency Health Adviser

Salary: £20,683 p.a. **Based in Oxford**

Oxfam is looking to recruit a health professional, ideally with a public health degree, to work within our Emergencies Department. Substantial experience in emergency health work overseas is essential. Knowledge of therapeutic feeding programmes and health promotion would be an advantage.
The postholder will be responsible for providing support to overseas programmes, including assessing emergency situations and advising on emergency preparedness. The ability to travel at short notice for up to 12 weeks a year is also essential.
Please quote ref: OS/EHA/HM/GW.
Closing date: 23 April 1997.
Interview date: w/c 12 May 1997.

For further details and an application form for all posts please send a large SAE to International Human Resources, Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ. Please quote the appropriate reference when applying.

Founded in 1942, Oxfam works with people regardless of race or religion in their struggle against poverty. Oxfam UK and Ireland is a member of Oxfam International.



Oxfam UK/Ireland is striving to be an equal opportunity employer

---

London-based educational foundation working in the Arabic-speaking countries and particularly Palestine is currently recruiting for a **PROGRAMS MANAGER.**

Requirements include:

- ■ At least three years' experience in the project and financial management of development projects in similar or related areas (e.g. education, culture).
- ■ A keen interest in and awareness of the culture, history and socio-political situation of the region.
- ■ Excellent interpersonal skills, IT skills and spoken and written Arabic.
- ■ Demonstrable ability to build and lead project teams.

Salary negotiable

Detailed applications to be sent by fax only by April 30 to 00 44 171 823 9137

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

HISTORY OF THE BOOK

Applications for this interdisciplinary course are now being considered, unfortunately there are no scholarships. In its first two years the course has attracted students from many countries. The course provides a unique opportunity to study a wide range of subjects within book history with experts from major institutions in London as teachers - including the British Museum, the British Library, and the V & A. The course can be taken part-time over two years. Seminars consider books as material objects together with the interaction of the book and society, emphasising manufacture, publication distribution, reception and survival. Students are able to develop their own particular interests, in close consultation with recognised experts.

Prospectus available from: Centre for English Studies, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU. Tel: 0171 636 8000 ext 3054. Fax: 0171 436 4533. Email: wgould@sas.ac.uk. Visit www.sas.ac.uk.

Pursuing equal opportunities and excellence in education.

Experienced ELT & Graduate TEFL teachers

WHERE WILL YOU BE IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE?

Far away in exciting, challenging lands... teaching with VSO

This could be the year you step completely outside of the system, outside of the country – and to a large extent – outside of yourself. You could become a VSO volunteer. Voluntary Service Overseas spans the developing world, from Africa to the Caribbean, Asia to the Pacific. We are one of the longest established and most respected development agencies in the world – and a couple of years coping with the challenge of VSO will boost not only your self-respect, but your estimation in the eyes of future employers.

We urgently need: **Graduate TEFL teachers** for upgrading language skills at education centres in China, Vietnam, Pakistan, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Cambodia. You need a degree, a TEFL certificate and – for most posts – at least 6 months' teaching experience.

Experienced ELT teachers with similar qualifications – but of course a lot more in-depth knowledge and practice. Typical jobs would be teacher training at rural resource centres and colleges; teaching English to health professionals; upgrading language skills among undergraduate trainee teachers.

Essential personal qualities should include commitment, adaptability, cultural sensitivity and a sense of humour.

You should also be aged between 20 and 70, without dependants, able to spend at least two years overseas working for a 'local' rate of pay (VSO provides a full support package), and have unrestricted right of re-entry into the UK.

APPLY NOW FOR DEPARTURES THROUGHOUT 1997.

For details and an application form, please return the coupon below, enclosing a brief summary of your qualifications and work experience.

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

VSO

Post to: Atha Murphy, Enquiries Unit, VSO, 317 Putney Bridge Road, London SW15 2PN. Telephone: 0181-780 1331 (24hrs). Website: http://www.oneworld.org/vso/

I am a qualified ______________________

______________ with ____ years' experience

Name ______________________

Telephone ______________________

Address ______________________

____

______________ Postcode ______________

GW — Charity no. 313757

University of Brighton

The Brighton International Summer School in

Art & Design

13 July - 23 August 1997



Programmes of study

- Fine art painting and printmaking
- Graphic design and book arts
- Illustration and drawing
- Three dimensional design and studio crafts
- Fashion, dress and textile history
- Photography and interactive multi-media
- Media and performing arts
- Orientation programme for international students

All courses are drawn from degree programmes offered at the University of Brighton and are fully credit rated.

For further information and a prospectus contact: Ms Lishka Everett, The Brighton International Summer School, University of Brighton, Grand Parade, Brighton BN2 2JY, East Sussex, UK. Tel: +44 1273 642609 Fax: +44 1273 643128. e-mail: l.everett@brighton.ac.uk

Hosted and taught by the University of Brighton

Masters Degrees Available In:

The Study of Religions
Celtic Christianity
Death and Immortality
Feminist Theology
Religion, Politics & Int'l Relations

Full Time or Part Time Courses

Details: Dr Gavin Flood,
Dept of Theology & Religious Studies, UWL,
Lampeter, SA48 7ED. Tel: 01570 424708/Fax: 01570 423641

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

Language and Linguistics Dept.Sheffield S10 2TN
TEL 44 (0)114 222 0210 FAX 44 (0)114 2768251
e-mail B.Flather@Sheffield.ac.uk

MA AND DIPLOMA IN SHEFFIELD IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Full-time or part-time; taught modules on: Language Study; Research Methods; Language Learning/Acquisition; Translation; Social Pragmatics; Language Teaching Methodology etc. Applicants need recognised university degree or equivalent and proof of high English Language skill.

For full details apply to Dr Mike Reynolds at the Department http://www.shef.ac.uk/uni/academic/D-H/ell/

THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY
RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

The School of Geography offers qualified students the opportunity to pursue postgraduate research leading to MPhil and PhD degrees (both full-time and part-time). The School also offers two MSc/Diploma taught degrees: World Space Economy and Urbanism. The entrance requirement for the PhD programme is a 2:1 or 1st Class Honours degree, and/or a Masters degree in Geography or a related subject. Applicants for the taught degrees should have a good undergraduate degree in Geography or related subject.

RESEARCH DEGREES

PhD/MPhil in Human Geography: the School has ESRC Mode-A recognition; qualified students should apply through the School for an ESRC Studentship and are also eligible for School and University Studentships. The School has a particular interest in the following areas of research:

- Economic, social and urban aspects of advanced economies;
- Economic restructuring, political economy and regional change in Africa, Latin America, Central Europe and the post-Soviet Republics;
- Historical geography (including Tsarist Russia);
- Cultural, social and morphological aspects of Urban geography.

For further information, please contact the Postgraduate Tutor: Dr Michael Bradshaw, telephone 0121 414 5535, (e-mail: M.J.Bradshaw@bham.ac.uk) or at the address given below.

TAUGHT COURSE

MSc/Diploma: World Space Economy: this one year course provides a geographical exploration of change in the world economy. The course has ESRC Advance Course 'Specialist' recognition. In addition the School will be offering a variety of financial support. For further information, please contact the Course Director: Dr Nick Henry, telephone 0121 414 7262 (e-mail: N.D.Henry@bham.ac.uk) or at the address given below.

MSc/Diploma: Urbanism: this new one year course provides a theoretically-informed examination of the processes and effects of change in urban areas. The course has yet to receive ESRC recognition, but the School will be offering a variety of forms of financial support. For further information, please contact the Course Director: Dr Jane Pollard, telephone 0121 414 5530, (e-mail: J.Pollard@bham.ac.uk) or at the address below.

Address: School of Geography, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT, telephone 0121 414 6935; fax 0121 414 5528.



NORWICH City Council — **CHIEF EXECUTIVES DEPARTMENT**

The Chief Executive's Department provides support on strategic and corporate issues through its policy and research, communications and computer functions.

EUROPEAN OFFICER

£23,913 - £25,746 PLUS RELOCATION PACKAGE

In this post you will make a vital contribution to achieving the Council's stated objective of being proactive in relation to European opportunities.

The post will suit someone with experience of working at senior level on European issues. Tasks will include:-

- Advising Members on policy and strategy development
- Advising Chief Officer and other senior managers on the European context for developing strategies and action plans
- Acting as lead officer for the development of a strategy plan for European matters
- Leading multi-disciplinary officer teams or participating in such teams to bring a European perspective
- Contributing to resource generation for the Council
- Representing the Council as appropriate

You will have at least five years post graduate experience, preferably in local government or related areas; knowledge of European issues, institutions and funding opportunities, experience in assembling bids, and a working knowledge of at least one other European language.

For more information contact Liz Edwards, Assistant Chief Executive Officer, on +44 (0) 1603 212501, email edwards@norwich.gov.uk

Application forms can be obtained from Chris Reynolds, Department of Law and Administration, Norwich City Council, Norwich, Norfolk, NR2 1NH.

Completed applications should be returned by Friday 11th April 1997.

Norwich City Council is an equal opportunities employer and operates a no smoking policy.

Disabled people are encouraged to apply. Disabled applicants who appear to meet the person specification are guaranteed an interview.

LECTURESHIPS IN HUMAN AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND EARTH SCIENCES

A number of lectureships are available at Aberystwyth in human and physical geography tenable from 1 September 1997. Candidates working in any field of the discipline are invited to apply, but particular consideration may be given to those with the following research interests:

- Contemporary economic, political or social geography
- Sustainability and environment Glaciology
- Environmental quality and pollution
- Fluvial processes and hydrology

All appointments will be made at an appropriate point on the Lecturer Grade A (£16,045 – £21,016) or Grade B (£21,894 – £27,985) scales, according to qualifications and experience. Informal enquiries (tel: 01970 – 622631) may be made to Professor R. Dodgshon or Professor M. Goodwin for the human geography posts, and to Professor D. Gilbertson or Professor J. Dowdeswell for the physical geography posts.

Further particulars for these posts and an application form to be returned by 2 May 1997, are obtainable from the Personnel Office, Old College, King Street, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, SY23 2AX. Tel. 01970 621832; fax 01970 622975; Email lml@aber.ac.uk.



Prifysgol Cymru
Aberystwyth
University of Wales

RICHMOND

THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY IN LONDON

RICHMOND MBA

Full
Part-Time
Evening Programme

Programme Concentrations
- General Management
- International Marketing
- International Finance

UK/US Accreditation
Semesters begin in January, May and September
International Internship
Residential Accommodation

For More Information: MBA Administration
16 Young Street London W8 5EH
Tel: 0171 368 8488 Fax: 0171 938 3037
Email mba@staff.richmond.ac.uk

ENGLISH IN OTTAWA THIS SUMMER A CAPITAL IDEA!



Professional and Academic English Courses — Carleton UNIVERSITY

- Located in the national capital of Canada
- Excellent degree-granting public university
- Summer programs for international EFL Teachers and Business Professionals
- Host family and residence accommodation
- Intensive English year-round

Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, PA215, Dept.G, 1125 Colonel By Dr, Ottawa, Ontario, CANADA K1S 5B6
telephone: (1-613) 520-6612,
fax: (1-613) 520-6641
Email: esl@carleton.ca

The Department is a major focus for postgraduate study and research. A large graduate school with many students at Masters and Research level, the Department provides an exciting climate for study. Students bring many different perspectives and experiences and many come from overseas. They mix regularly with students from Departmental Centres, as well as the University's Centres for Development Studies, European Studies and African Studies Unit.



Department of Politics

MA IN THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES & DEVELOPMENT

An 11 month full time programme (also available part-time) which analyses the politics of development, the changing international political economy and key themes underpinning recent world events. Core modules on international processes of change and development and debates about development. Large range of options including dynamics of world economy, politics of European Union and issues in southern African development. All assessment by essays plus Dissertation.

MA IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

An 11 month full time programme (also available part time) which examines key aspects of international political economy including; core theories, analytical debates and empirical developments. The MA explores historical development of contemporary world politics, particularly the rise and challenge to the nation-state, the relationships between finance and money, trade and production, multinational companies and foreign economic policy. The interaction of these developments is also covered, giving the opportunity to situate theoretical knowledge in empirical case studies.

MA IN DEMOCRATIC STUDIES

This 10 month full time programme (also available part time) covers the key subjects of democracy and democratization, with core modules on democratic theory and issues of democratic consolidation. It covers both new and established democracies, examining the prospects for sustainability and questions of democratic deepening and relates theory to practice. It consists of six modules, including research methods and dissertation. Students are expected to focus on chosen case studies. The course is recognised by the ESRC, including rating for research training, with eligibility to apply for an ESRC award.

NEW MA PROGRAMMES INCLUDE

MA Africa: Human and Sustainable Development details; email R.C Bush@leeds.ac.uk, MA International Politics details, email S.J.Bromley@leeds.ac.uk, MA in Post Communist Studies details: email N.J.Melvin@leeds.ac.uk and MA in Middle East Studies details email S.J.Bromley@leeds.ac.uk.

PHD RESEARCH

Applications are welcomed to undertake supervised research in any area of politics or political economy. Departmental specialist research interests cover many varies aspects of comparative politics including: problems of democratic theory and practice, political economy of energy and food security, politics of ethnicity and nationalism, and the European Parliament. Regional specialisms include Europe, North America, South East Asia and Africa

Further information, details of scholarships available, and application forms from Ms Caroline Wise, Department of Politics, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT Telephone +44 (0) 113 233 4383, fax + 44 (0) 113 233 4400 E-mail C.Wise@leeds.ac.uk http://www.leeds.ac.uk/politics/

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
Faculties of Arts and Divinity
Graduate School of Arts and Humanities

DIRECTOR
£29,380 - £33,202 p.a.

This new post is to begin in September or as soon as possible thereafter. You will be expected to lead the development of the School by further promoting all forms of graduate recruitment and activity and by establishing and heading an Institute of Advanced Arts and Humanities Research. An established research record and experience of external relations and income generation are key requirements for the post.

The appointment will be made on the Senior Lecturer scale.

Informal enquiries should be addressed to the Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, G12 8QH, telephone 0141 330 5253 (direct line), fax 0141 330 4537, e-mail:mgw@arts.gla.ac.uk.

For further particulars write (preferably on a postcard) quoting Ref No: 113/TG, to: Personnel Services, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ. Closing date Friday 25th April 1997. The University is committed to equality of opportunity in employment.



WARWICK

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations

Applications are invited from well-qualified candidates for:

MA in Race and Ethnic Relations
(1 year full-time, 2 years part-time)

Courses include theories of race relations, colonialism, globalisation, identity, equal opportunities, social policy, gender and employment.

The MA is recognised by the ESRC for Research Training. There is one ESRC studentship allocated to the programme. In addition there are 10 University bursaries and one Voice scholarship subject to open competition.

Further details on the MA are available from Dr Clive Harris, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, tel: (01203) 522980/522598.

An application form for this and other programmes can be found in the Graduate School Prospectus. This can be accessed via the World Wide Web: http://www.warwick.ac.uk/info/postgrad/ or obtained from The Graduate School Office, Senate House, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL UK. Tel: +44 (0)1203 524585 Fax: +44 (0)1203 524586. E-mail: pgadmissions@admin.warwick.ac.uk

HANDICAP INTERNATIONAL

recruits a

Programme Coordinator for the Middle-East

Handicap International is an NGO which aims to rehabilitate handicapped people.

For one of our projects, we welcome applications from people with the following skills and experience:

- university graduate
- excellent knowledge of french and english
- at least two years of experience with an NGO
- proven skill in management of projects, human resources, negotiation with local authorities
- computer literate

Applications close: Tuesday the 15th of April.
Applications can be sent to Mary-Odile Lognard, rue de Spa 67, 1000 Brussels, Belgium.
Tel: (0032-2) 280 16 01, fax (0032-2) 230 60 30.

The College of Natural Therapy
(founded 1979)

The Principal, Norman Eddie, has been a Practitioner for 40 years, and has lectured in many countries in Europe and America, having been awarded many Diplomas in recognition of his work in alternative medicine.

Diploma Correspondence Courses are offered in:-

HOMOEOPATHY
NUTRITION
HERBAL MEDICINE
NATUROPATHY

For a detailed prospectus please contact, quoting Ref: GW
THE COLLEGE OF NATURAL THERAPY
133 Gatley Road, Gatley, Cheadle, Cheshire, SK8 4PD
Tel: +44 (0) 161 491 4314 Fax: +44 (0) 161 491 419

Flight control



ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

Paul Evans

A *FEW* miles from the outskirts of a Midlands town, high above rolling open fields and scattered woods, the dark form of a buzzard circles. This is not the vulture-like buzzard of American western movies; *Buteo buteo* is a hawk of a different feather. Looking, in flight, like miniature eagles, buzzards range widely across Europe. In the UK they bred almost everywhere until intense persecution began in the 13th century.

By 1875 buzzards were confined to western Britain. Their recovery was set back in the 1950s because of myxomatosis in rabbits and illegal persecution, which in some areas still continues. By 1983 there were at least 12,000 pairs of buzzards and in the past decade they have begun to reclaim their ranges in southern and eastern Britain.

As the buzzards again soar across Britain's skies, how lies the land beneath them? This is the green and pleasant land where the tragedy of BSE is being played out. Where farmers have become the occupation most likely to commit suicide. The inter-city zone carved up with roads and open-cast mining and exploited by retail parks and housing estates.

This is the agribusiness shop floor, with bigger farms, bigger machines and bigger subsidies. Where familiar features that stitched the old countryside together have vanished. Where, since the war, 209,000 miles of hedges have been grubbed up and only 13 per cent of dry-stone walls remain in decent nick. Where 97 per cent of hay meadows, 80 per cent of chalk and limestone downlands and 65 per cent of Culm grassland have been lost. This is the Arcadia where changes in agricultural practice and the use of chemicals have caused populations of once common wild animals and plants to crash. This is the land which waits for Dolly the sheep clone and other genetically engineered muppets to feed our future.

So, on this evidence, despite a success for buzzards, conservation has failed. Although there have been notable successes in protecting some of the finest wildlife habitats, conservation has failed to impede wholesale destruction of the countryside.

This land the buzzard spies is very different from the land where its ancestors were persecuted and driven from. And yet this buzzard is staking its claim. It soars and swoops above the fields, displaying its territorial rights.

The sun is rising above the buzzard heartland of the western hills and, with a long, thrilling mew, the bird dives earthward. The dark wings spread wide to reveal the copper, bronze, gold and rich brown plumage, firing through the dawn of a spring sky.

The buzzard's skydance marks the long miles of its world. Down to the trees and gateposts, this bird's eye and wing, beak and talon, cut through the air in an act of defiance. Today the buzzard is not hunting, but proclaiming, warning, daring.

And what kind of land do we want? Can we not be inspired by these birds to defy the landowners, business interests and insensitive governance which wreck so much havoc and destruction in the countryside? When Wordsworth saw the slaughter of raptors and the growth of agriculture and industry, he was moved to write:

I grieve, when on the darker side
Of this great charge I look; and
there behold
Such outrage done to Nature as
compels
The indignant power to justify
herself;
Yea, to avenge her violated rights. . .

Perhaps we can take heart from the buzzard's wildness and help avenge nature.

Chess Leonard Barden

LUKE McSHANE edged closer to becoming the UK's youngest international master at Cardiff last month when the 13-year-old achieved the second of three required IM norms. Short and Sadler hold the record at 14, but when Short became an IM at Hastings 1980, the only teenager clearly ahead of him was Kasparov.

These days, junior chess is much more competitive, and Luke has at least three rivals near his age. The Ukraine's Ponomariov has the highest rating yet at age 13 of 2,565, close to super-GM standard; France's Bacrot beat ex-world champion Smyslov 5-1 in a match; while Spain's Vallejo was second in a recent Open ahead of several GMs.

There's a difference in style, as this week's games show. McShane likes Karpovian positions, Ponomariov enjoys a mêlée, Bacrot is more impressive against GMs than playing other juniors. With £10,000-a-year backing from Psion Computers, Luke will soon be an IM aiming for the grandmaster title and for the under-20 and under-18 world championships, which carry GM norms. These are much stiffer hurdles, and even Short never won a world junior and took five years to advance from IM to GM.

McShane-Gormally

1 e4 c5 2 Nf3 d6 3 d4 cxd4 4 Nxd4 Nf6 5 Nc3 a6 6 Be3 Ng4 7 Bg5 h6 8 Bh4 g5 9 Bg3 Bg7 10 Qd2 A few days earlier Shirov v Kasparov at Linares went 10 Be2 h5 11 Bxg4 Bxg4 12 f3 Bd7 13 0-0 Nc6 14 Bf2 e6 15 Nce2 Ne5 16 b3 g4 17 f4 h4 18 Be3 h3 and Kasparov won well, exchanging all the pieces into an endgame where his h3 pawn could promote.

Nc6?! Sharper is h5!? 11 Nf5(11 h3 h4) Bxf5 12 exf5 h4! 13 Qxg5 Bxc3 + 14 bxc3 hxg3 15 Qxg4 Rxh2 16 Rxh2 gxh2 17 Qh3 Qa5! **11 Nb3 Be6** Again h5 is interesting: 12 Qxg5 Bh6 13 Qh4 Be6 with complex play.

12 f3 Nge5 13 Bf2 Nc4 14 Bxc4 Bxc4 15 Nd5 Bxd5 16 exd5 Ne5 17 e3 Qd7 18 Nd4 Ng6 19 0-0 Be5 20 Bg3 Rc8 21 Rae1 0-0 22 f4! Bf6 Needing just a draw to take first prize, Black has opted for solid play but his earlier g5 proves fatal. After gxf4 23 Bxf4 Nxf4 24 Rxf4 Bxf4 25 Qxf4 e5 26 Qxh6 exd4 27 Qg5 + Kh7 28 Re4 wins.

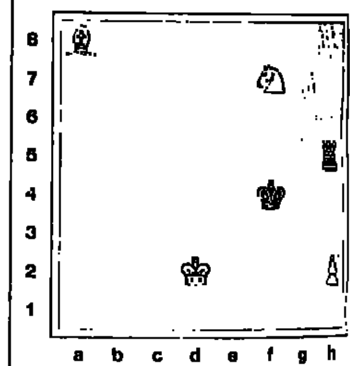
23 fxg5 fxg5 24 Nf5 It's all over now as White swarms into the weak K-side. **Ne5 25 Bxe5 dxe5 26 Ng3 Rfd8 27 Ne4 Kg7 28 Qf2 Resigns**

Ponomariov-Garcia

1 e4 d5 2 exd5 Qxd5 3 Nc3 Qd8 4 d4 Nf6 5 Nf3 c6 6 Bc4 Bf5 7 Ne5 e6 8 g4 Bg6 9 h4 Bb4?! The Centre Counter has enjoyed a revival lately, but here the critical line is Nbd7 10 Nxd7 Nxd7 11 h5 Be4 12 Rh3 Bg2.

10 Rh3 Nbd7 11 Qe2 Nb6 12 h5 Be4 13 Bf4 Qxd4 14 Rd1 Bd3 15 Rhxd3 Qxf4 16 Rd4 Qh2 17 Nxf7 0-0 18 Bxe6 Nbd5 19 Qe5 Qg2 20 Rxb4! Nxb4 21 Rd8! Nxc2+ 22 Ke2 Qg1? Raxd8! draws. **23 Qd6 Qe1+ 24 Kd3 Re8 25 Rxa8 Nb4+ 26 Kc4 Resigns**

No 2465



White mates in three moves, against any defence (by L Buhler, 1969). More than half the contestants in a German solving championship failed to crack this problem in the 15 minutes allowed.

No 2464: 1 . . . Bxg4! 2 hxg4? Nxe4! 3 Nxe4??(3 Qe1 or 3 Qg2) Qxa2+! 4 Kxa2 Ra4 mate.

Quick crossword no. 359

Across

1 One week before Easter Day (4,6)
7 Bring up — nourishment (7)
8 Hobo (5)
10 Long difficult journey (4)
11 Grain used for puddings (8)
13 Island in SE Asia (6)
15 Glossy cotton fabric (6)
17 Manual (8)
18 Prima donna (4)
21 Not drunk — without excess (5)
22 Axle (7)
23 Part of football field (7,3)

Down

1 Cleanse thoroughly (5)
2 Noisy — offensive to look at (4)
3 Meat pin (6)
4 Imaginary (8)
5 Greed for wealth (7)
6 Laughing uncontrollably (2,8)
9 Unlined writing material (5,5)
12 Capital of Australia (8)
14 Of low birth (7)
16 Pamper (6)
19 List of contents — pointer (5)
20 Arm or leg (4)

Last week's solution

	Q	U	I	T	E	L	I	K	E	L	Y	
R		S		I		O		E		O		R
E	X	E	M	P	L	I	F	Y		W	O	O
T				S		T		E		E		A
I	N	E	R	T		E	N	D	U	R	E	S
R		X		E		R				M		T
I	N	T	E	R	N		S	P	R	O	U	T
N		E				S		A		S		U
G	O	N	D	O	L	A		T	U	T	O	R
A		U		U		F		T				K
G	O	A		G	R	A	P	E	V	I	N	E
E		T		H		R		R		L		Y
	R	E	D	T	R	I	A	N	G	L	E	

Bridge Zia Mahmood

DENG XIAO PING, who died last month at the age of 92, was an ardent bridge fanatic who more than anyone was responsible for the vast popularity of the game in China in recent years. Indeed, the only official title that he held in the last years of his life was President of the Chinese Bridge Federation.

Deng was a fine player, just short of international class, and the performance of the Chinese Ladies team at the recent Olympiad would have impressed him enormously. China's women won their qualifying group with a colossal score, then demolished two of the world's strongest teams — Israel and Canada — in the knockout stages. In the final, they jumped off to an early lead against the formidable ladies of the United States, but were pegged back by the vast experience of their opponents in pressure situations, and had eventually to be content with the silver medal. This fascinating deal was the first on which the US wrested control from the Chinese. Take the South cards and choose a line of play:

♠ A J 9 7
♥ A
♦ K J 9 6 2
♣ A 9 2

♠ K Q 10 8 5
♥ 10 9 7 6
♦ 8 4
♣ 8 4

At love all, this was the bidding:

South	West	North	East
			1♦
1♠	4♥	4♠	Pass
Pass	Dble	Pass	Pass
Pass			

It's not that everyone would have overcalled one spade on your hand — they would not. But your contract is a decent one, even on the best lead of a low trump. How would you play?

The Chinese declarer won the opening lead in her hand and led the eight of diamonds. This was the full deal (see right).

Jill Blanchard, West for the US, made the excellent play of ruffing the eight of diamonds and switching to a club.

When declarer gave up a club trick to East, another trump was returned and the luckless South could take no more than nine tricks — seven trumps and two aces — for she could not establish a diamond winner.

North
♠ A J 9 7
♥ A
♦ K J 9 6 2
♣ A 9 2

West
♠ 6 3
♥ K Q J 8 5 4 2
♦ None
♣ Q 10 6 3

East
♠ 4 2
♥ 3
♦ A Q 10 7 5 3
♣ K J 7 5

South
♠ K Q 10 8 5
♥ 10 9 7 6
♦ 8 4
♣ 8 4

Can you see how declarer could have made the contract? Drawing trumps in two rounds and playing on diamonds will do — but that might have been fatal if the spades had divided 3-1.

South was right to play a diamond at the second trick, but it ought to have been the four and not the eight!

If you care to work it out, you will see that the defence has no answer to the play of the 4 at the second trick.

I am certain that the legacy of Deng Xiao Ping will endure, and that very soon China will be winning world bridge titles. ©

Elvis gets life after death

Gary Younge

THE KING of rock 'n' roll is dead, but thanks to the efforts of a former barrow boy, his image, name and likeness can appear wherever there are fans to buy them, a British High Court judge ruled last week.

Sid Shaw, who sells Elvis memorabilia from his shop, Elvisly Yours, in the East End of London, had taken on the might of Memphis-based Elvis Presley Enterprises of America, over its claim to have the sole right to put Elvis's title on products.

In a case that saw a plucky David take on a decidedly bloated Goliath, Mr Shaw appealed against a decision of the Trade Marks Registry to allow only EPE to use the words Elvis, Elvis Presley and an alleged signature of the singer.

Mr Justice Laddie, who overturned the trade mark titles, said in his judgment: "Even if Elvis Presley was still alive, he would not be entitled to stop a fan from naming his son, his dog or goldfish, his car or his house Elvis or Elvis Presley, simply by reason of the fact that it was the name given to him at birth by his parents."

The judge said that although EPE "benefits financially from Elvis Presley's continuing fame there is nothing akin to copyright in a name".

As he emerged from the High Court, an exultant Mr Shaw, who has been fighting for 14 years for the right to use the name, said: "You can't own Shakespeare. You can't own Che Guevara. How can you own Elvis Presley? Elvis was up there somewhere smiling today. I shall be celebrating quietly by playing Elvis Presley music. I think I shall play You Ain't Nothing But a Hound-Dog."

Mr Shaw's wrangle with the US company began after they objected to his products, some of which were being sold as souvenirs at Graceland, Elvis's home in Memphis, Tennessee, where the company is based.

Mr Shaw objected unsuccessfully when EPE registered the names and signature in June 1991, and claimed that since then EPE had had a virtual monopoly on Elvis memorabilia throughout the world.

He took his case to the High Court and asked a judge to decide if anyone can claim the exclusive right under the Trade Mark Act to use the names Elvis, Elvis Presley or a signature as a trade mark, and if so, who.

Peter Prescott, for EPE, had argued that when people bought souvenirs of their heroes they wanted them to come from a "genuine source".



The East End David who felled a US Goliath . . . Sid Shaw after his High Court victory, with Elvis fan Leyton Summers PHOTO: JAMES HORTON

Letter from Nepal Joy Stephens

Water music

JUDDHA BIR was not given his fair chips in life. For a start he is low-caste; in Nepal that inevitably means landless and poverty-stricken. He is also blind. This is not immediately apparent for he is able to negotiate the mountain paths around his village; he even does portering work occasionally.

I first encountered Juddha Bir when my husband and I went to work on a small integrated hydro-electric and irrigation project. He soon came knocking at our door. At least, he didn't knock, he just walked in and started to play his bamboo flute. He had a natural aptitude for music. I put him to work composing development-education songs and my husband arranged him a job on the construction site.

Juddha was delighted. He had a steady job and money in his pocket. On the basis of this he went out and got himself a wife. "One that can see!" he explained with a big smile.

After four years we left the project, and it was a further six years before I had reason to visit the area again. I had hardly been there for two hours before Juddha sniffed me out. Things were not looking so good. He had been working for eight years but had no savings; the construction work was finished, and he was once again unemployed. The "seeing" wife had produced expensive sequels: four children under the age of seven.

"Didn't you compose a song on family planning?" I snapped.

What future for an illiterate, landless, blind person where the only employment is subsistence agriculture? Well aware of the pitfalls of my action, I decided to bring Juddha Bir to Kathmandu where he could study music and hopefully perform in a restaurant. For one month he lived with us and I woke up each morning to the sound of his flute. He was good, but not good enough. We toured the high-priced restaurants, and the budget-traveller area. Eventually one hotel invited him to play three evenings a week.

I turned Juddha out of the house, found him a cheap room to rent, and bought him a set of clean clothes. His income just equalled his food and lodging; there was no money left over to send back to the family, which was the point of the exercise. Then the one hotel cut his hours from three evenings to two. "Some of the guests have complained" — the manager looked embarrassed — "that he's rather dirty."

It was true. Juddha wasn't very presentable, but then it's hard for a blind man to see that. He did wash, I know, because when he left us, most of our towels and toiletry left with him and had to be reclaimed.

At this point I began to despair and reconsidered what was, against all my development ideology, the only option left: begging. Some of Juddha's best money had come from guests slipping him notes. When they realised he was blind, they were unfailingly generous.

With a heavy heart I directed him to the tourist area of town. But he returned in the evening with just 10 rupees. Not even enough for one meal. Juddha, it appeared, didn't know how to beg.

I thought the story had ended, but life here is full of surprises. Several months after the fiasco of begging, Juddha received word that land was being redistributed in his area. To be eligible he must earn a certain number of "water shares".

The project on which we had formerly worked was ambitious and idealistic. It involved tunnelling through a hill. Water from the north side would be brought to the south side to generate electricity and provide irrigation. Grain production can treble with irrigation, but without land it is worthless.

So the scheme was devised whereby landowners would be persuaded to sell some of their "dry" land at the rate for unirrigated land, and it would then be distributed to the landless at the same rate, although it would later be worth much more. To earn the water shares, families had to volunteer on canal construction.

The scheme was beset with difficulties but after some 14 years of effort, it was coming to fruition. But Juddha, unknown to us and against the rules, had sold the water shares he had earned to the village leader, and was not eligible to receive land. His only chance was to return immediately and work again on the final canal. We said goodbye.

I haven't seen him since but I think he's all right. A few months ago the project manager phoned: Juddha had earned his water shares, and needed Rs3,000 to buy his half-acre share of land which with irrigation would make him self-sufficient in grain.

Just $48 to buy a lifetime's security for a family of six? We paid up promptly. It is probably the best investment we ever made.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

MY mother died recently aged 103 years. Her earliest memory was of 1899, watching Queen Victoria passing by in a carriage. Is there now anyone left alive who can claim to have seen Queen Victoria?

MY GRANDMOTHER, Mrs Minnie Wharnsby, is approaching her 109th birthday, and remembers seeing Queen Victoria, in her carriage, in about 1893. According to a recent interview with the Basildon Evening Echo, she was so close that she tried to reach out to the Queen through the carriage window. — *Christine Warbis, Cornforth, Durham*

IF ALL the cars in Britain were converted to run on electricity, how many more power stations would be needed to cope with the extra demand?

THE total annual energy consumption of cars in the UK in 1995 was about 340,000 million kilowatt-hours (kWh). Based on fuel consumption of 28 miles per gallon, petrol-fuelled cars use about 1 kWh per kilometre. Current electric-vehicle technology can achieve an energy usage of less than 0.2 kWh per kilometre, so the energy demand from electric vehicles would be roughly 68,000 million kWh per year. The average power demand would then be 7.8 million kilowatts (or 7.8 Gigawatts). A large coal-fired power station typically has a generating capacity of 2 Gigawatts. So it would appear that only four new power stations are required.

However, there are likely to be times of the day when the peak power demand is at least twice the average. Consequently, over 16 Gigawatts of generating capacity could be necessary. But even if a power station/transmission efficiency of just 32 per cent were to be used, the total primary energy consumption by cars would be reduced from 340,000 kWh to 212,000 kWh. — *Patrick Mason, Sheffield*

WHAT does *solum meha adular* mean?

THIS could be a conglomerate of languages. *Solum*, in Latin, means "the bottom or lowest part of anything". *Adular*, in Spanish, means "to flatter". *Eha* cannot be specifically identified but it might be a corruption of the German word *mehr* meaning "more". We're thus left with something along the lines of "the most (more) lowest form of flattery". — *Richard Webber, Horfield, Bristol*

[illegible] evolution of surnames [illegible] origins in occupa[illegible] names ended, or [illegible] forward to one day [illegible] d to Mr Prog[illegible] Consultant?

IN HER book English Surnames, C M Matthews wrote that by 1400 the English, who rarely used a name twice before the Norman invasion, gradually became quite conservative about surnames. In fact, she said: "I believe it true to say that no human activity and no word that came into England after about 1360 has produced an English surname." Of course, people like The Artist Formerly Known as Prince may be leading us into a new age. — *Peter Morrison, Washington DC, USA*

Any answers?

WHY was it that some Norman families whose names began with the letter f, used two small f's instead of one capital F (as in ffoulkes)? — ***R Fothergill, Tortola, British Virgin Islands***

I HAD the impression that the adjective "unique" was an absolute. As it is now frequently qualified by an adverb — eg, "quite", "fairly" — is it now "less unique" than it used to be? — ***Geoffrey Armitage, Keith, Banffshire***

WHEN were the first fountains made [illegible] were they operated? — ***[illegible] Lusaka, Zambia***

Answers should [illegible] weekly@[illegible] 0171[illegible] posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ

A Country Diary

Audrey Insch

NORTH PEMBROKESHIRE: A peacock butterfly rests in the sun, wings spread out. Two lesser tortoiseshells drift over to feed on heathers. Furious winter rages are gone, for today at least. It seems a good moment to go dipper searching. As a child, I was delighted by these birds because of their miraculous ability to walk on river beds under the water. The weight of the water bearing down on its back keeps the bird from popping up. The nearest river, Brynberian, has a stretch of suitable dipper terrain before it is swallowed up by the river Nevern. The walk by the water takes you through a deep valley with precipitous sides. One is covered with moss-drowned boulders, brambles and trees; the other has a narrow field strip with ponies enjoying sweet-smelling hay. There are big stones and fallen trees in the water giving good perches for dippers. There are quick runs, and sandy inlets for paddling and pecking, but there are no dippers to be seen. At the confluence, there are clumps of daffodils and snowdrops, and lesser celandines shine like little suns. To catch sight of a dipper, however, we had to turn to the Nevern. The first thing we saw from the bridge was a white spot standing on a stone. Binoculars picked up the distinctive warm chestnut-brown edge on its belly before the black colouring takes over. This one favoured us with a wondrous display of winking with its white eyelids.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Blowing Wynton Marsalis's trumpet

JAZZ
John Fordham

AFTER three-and-a-half remarkable hours, Wynton Marsalis's Lincoln Center Orchestra danced off the Barbican stage in London last week, to the sound of a full house on its feet stamping for more. Singer Cassandra Wilson got a bouquet the size of a tree, the veteran crooner Jon Hendricks an explosion of cheers and Marsalis's drummer Herlin Riley was so invigorated that he launched into an impromptu shuffle in front of the footlights.

To say the final gig of Marsalis's Blood On The Fields European tour was a triumph would be economical to the point of parsimonious. This was Marsalis both delighting his admirers and resoundingly confounding his detractors, including this one.

Marsalis bands, often studious and meticulous affairs, haven't gone in for many dancing finales over the years. Nor was the audience reaction a cumulative knee-jerk to years of marketing Marsalis as a young sage of neo-classical jazz, but a spontaneous response to the best orchestral writing he has ever done.

Marsalis is now jazz director at New York's Lincoln Center, and Blood On The Fields, a jazz opera dealing with slavery and the nature of freedom, emerged from the connection and is performed by the superb repertory orchestra.

The show is fronted by three utterly contrasting singers, representing the central protagonists (Cassandra Wilson and Miles Griffith — lowly and aristocratic slaves respectively — and Jon Hendricks, a holy fool). Marsalis's own trumpet voice is rarely heard, but the band crackles with eloquent soloing and section work of a cutting power that could slice through rock. The music spans the history of jazz, but Ellington's audacity of tone and texture is a dominant quality, as it frequently is for Marsalis. But there are also irresistible grooves, a fierce dissonance to the brass harmonies and an irrepressible vitality to the overlaid rhythmic patterns.

Marsalis doesn't want Blood On The Fields to be seen as a slavery story alone, and believes its themes say a lot about the States and about art. "It's about slavery, but it's really about today and American identity," says Marsalis in his New Orleans drawl. "The slave who's a prince, who thinks he isn't like the others, has a whole transformation in his consciousness. That's what interests me, not necessarily just the clichés of racial tension. Jazz music is about joy to me. Affirmation and celebration, those are the qualities of jazz that attracted me first."

Marsalis has often said things like this, but not always borne them out in his music. Maybe success cornered him too early. A man who was working regularly with the late Art Blakey when not yet 20, Marsalis nevertheless managed to irritate as often as he astonished, not least because he made it abundantly clear that he thought hitching such blinding virtuosity to any form of experimental music was a perversion. In the early eighties he seemed to want nothing better than to sound exactly like Miles Davis in the early sixties. But as he has immersed himself more deeply in writing, he has slowly found a way of reinventing jazz past.

Wynton Marsalis's protectiveness toward the jazz tradition will undoubtedly intensify as the century that saw the music's creation nears its end, and his job at the Lincoln endorses it. He waxes lyrical about heroes, cherishing John Coltrane for "trying to bring the spirituals back. He was trying to go for that ancient expression. His music is very sincere, and very earnest and I'm attracted to the earnestness." Marsalis also loves Thelonious Monk.

"Monk was a mathematician," he marvels. "He had it all figured out. All his improvising was based on themes. It's really like a child playing, and if you couple that childlike curiosity with this massive grasp of form, then you really have something."

Wynton Marsalis seems to be discovering the child in himself now. Maybe they made him a child star so early he never had the chance before. "If we give the next generation something better, rather than just exploiting them for money, they love it. They'll come towards it."

The long evening at the Barbican was testimony to that.

Back to Africa

With films such as Yaaba, a new golden age is dawning for African film. Report by **Alexa Dalby**

BURKINA FASO is one of the world's poorest countries, but it has still co-financed 25 feature films and is the only country that thinks film-makers important enough to merit their own public monument. This month, its capital, Ouagadougou, hosted the 15th biennial pan-African film festival, an event which attracted nearly 5,000 people from 79 countries.

A crowd of 50,000 packed the football stadium for the opening ceremony, broadcast live on television and radio. A giant screen turned the Place de la Revolution into a free outdoor cinema. More than 200 films from Africa and its diaspora were screened for 400,000 people in 20 cinemas. Films from 16 African countries were in competition.

In the 1980s, one film from Burkina Faso, Idrissa Ouedraogo's Yaaba (Grandmother), defined African cinema for Western audiences. Beautifully and simply filmed in a traditional village, Yaaba was the story of a boy befriending an outcast old woman. Through Western eyes, African films were set in a timeless Africa before colonialism. They were exotic, in the oral tradition. Westerners appropriated them because they felt they embodied truth and purity. Since the 85 per cent of Africa's population who live in rural areas have no chance of seeing any films, let alone African ones, what was shown in Europe, funded by France, had been made with Western audiences in mind. But after a few years' hiatus, there have been revolutionary changes in attitude. "It is not in crisis. It is developing," said Ouedraogo.

Directors are moving from auteurism to a commercial approach. During the festival students were rioting about their grants — and film directors also became militant. The congress of African film-makers (Fepaci) decided to change its 1975 constitution to address the crucial problem of lack of distribution, without which African cinema is "a castle without foundations", according to Ouedraogo. Francophone film-makers want to reach out to a global, English-speaking audience, and can now re-route themselves through South Africa. Ouedraogo's new film, which opened the festival, was in English, made in Zimbabwe with South African actors. In Kini & Adams, Ouedraogo's theme of friendship recurs in the story of two friends who build a car but become rivals when one is promoted at work.

"Kini & Adams is what I was looking for," says Ouedraogo. "It's taken me years to find this voice. It's the turning point of my career, another vision of things, a discovery of new actors and types of production. After four or five films, you have nothing to say because you've said it all. But God gave me a second wind. Now I have to do three or four films this way."

Reactions were mixed. The local press praised its mix of humour and tragedy, and its beautiful images. Europeans asked if he had sold out by imitating Hollywood. Ouedraogo's compassion and visual sense remained, but the psychology, particularly of women, was unconvincing. Some thought that its message was the reactionary "It's better to be poor and happy".

A NEW WAVE of directors is making different films. Notable are two Paris-based Cameroonians, Jean-Marie Teno (Clando) and Jean-Pierre Bekolo (Aristotle's Plot). No longer mainly about the anti-colonial struggle or village life, recent films have diverse subjects — contemporary urban life in Africa, political involvement, the immigrant experience in Europe.

Surprisingly, among new films, Tableau Ferraille is the first to exploit African popular music as part of the plot: Senegalese pop singer Ismael Lo stars as a politician in Moussa Sene Absa's social comedy. Women's inequality was a central issue in films by an increasing number of women directors, such as Everyone's Child by Zimbabwean Tsitsi Dangarembga. The top award, the Etalon of Yennenga, went to the traditional Buud Yam (Faith In Family Ties) by Gaston Kabore. Audiences loved its depiction of Burkinabe landscape and heritage.

African cinema is seen as a defence against the colonisation of youth by Western media. "The independent film-makers in Britain are fighting, like us, to communicate how they see the world," says Kabore. "We are happy in Britain if there is one guy named Ken Loach — his battle is the same as ours."

Liars and cheats

THEATRE
Michael Billington

WE TALK a lot about political theatre. Very few plays, however, deal with the way the power-structure actually operates: Shakespeare's Coriolanus, Schiller's Wallenstein, Trevor Griffiths's Occupations, David Edgar's The Shape Of The Table leap to mind. To that list one should add Harley Granville Barker's Waste.

Dealing with a radical politician destroyed by private scandal, Waste had a famously chequered history. Granville Barker's original version, written in 1907, was banned by the Lord Chamberlain: an act of political censorship masquerading as moral indignation. In 1920, the play was finally licensed and Barker took the opportunity to re-write it in the light of recent political events. It is this version that Peter Hall currently presents at London's Old Vic.

But why is the play so powerful? Partly because it deals with the intersection of politics and morality. Henry Trebell, an Independent MP, is the architect of a bill to disestablish the Church of England and use its funds to finance new schools and colleges. The Tories, expecting to regain power after an election, plan to absorb Trebell into the cabinet and appropriate his bill. But when Trebell has a fling with a married woman who dies after aborting his child, the bill is scuppered and Trebell discarded.

On one level, the play is about a tragic flaw in the English character: possibly one in Granville Barker's own. Politically, Trebell is an idealist: emotionally, he is heartless. He is fired by the idea of turning unwanted country houses and abbeys into new universities: yet he casually seduces Amy O'Connell, discards her instantly and, even after her death, brutally dismisses her as "a trull". Granville Barker pins down the divorce between ideas and sensibilities that runs right through English life: something Michael Pennington's superb performance as Trebell perfectly catches. There is an astonishing moment when, having learned that Amy is bearing his child, he returns to the practical business of political manoeuvre with almost schoolboy relish. The bill, you suddenly realise, is his real baby: the one that he is most anxious not to see aborted.



A woman wronged . . . Felicity Kendal plays Trebell's abandoned mistress in Waste at the Old Vic PHOTOGRAPH: HENRIETTA BUTLER

The play's most compelling scene is the one that shows the putative Tory PM realising that he will have to jettison Trebell to hold his cabinet together. Trebell is not so much ruined by scandal — the silence of the dead woman's husband is easily bought — as by a battle for the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

Granville Barker's real originality lies in showing the political process at work: in particular, the way a radical proposal that would transform British life is at the mercy of private ambition. And it is not difficult to see parallels today with Tory politicians distancing themselves from Europe in order to improve their chances of gaining the leadership.

It is the ideal work — unfamiliar but analytical of English public life — with which to kick-start the new Peter Hall regime at the Old Vic. The casting throughout is on the highest level: fine performances not only from Pennington but from Felicity Kendal as his abandoned mistress, and from Anna Carteret as his celibate sister who, like himself, is a stranger in matters of the heart.

The Old Vic promises 12 plays performed in repertory over the next 40 weeks: the irony is that, if it continues to operate on this level, it will offer a direct challenge to the National Theatre, which was largely the brainchild of none other than Harley Granville Barker.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Art and craft of a modern master

OBITUARY
Willem de Kooning

WILLEM de Kooning, who has died aged 92, was the last of the abstract expressionist painters who dominated American art in the 1940s and 1950s; and for a short while was the most celebrated of them, especially after 1952, when the writer Harold Rosenberg invented the phrase "action painting" with his dramatic mannerisms in mind.

Bill de Kooning knew long years of poverty and was then affected by sudden stardom. He was born in Rotterdam and first studied painting between 1916 and 1925 at Rotterdam Academy night classes. His daytime job was as a decorator. Almost to the end of his life de Kooning used white like a Dutchman, and some people think that his monumental paintings of women are those of a 20th century Rubens.

De Kooning left Rotterdam for America in 1926. He had happy memories of a Dutch seamen's hostel in Hoboken, New Jersey, which he used as a base while he worked as a house painter and billboard designer. He did not commit himself to fine art for a decade after his arrival, though in the late 1920s he discovered artistic life in New York's Greenwich Village and met, among others, Stuart Davis, Arshile Gorky and John Graham.

He became a professional artist when he joined the Works Progress Administration in 1935. With Gorky, he looked in at the first meeting of the American Abstract Artists group. They favoured a rational, geometric art, but his own painting now tended towards biomorphism, and also portraiture. This was in alliance with his best friend Gorky. The pictures are half-touching, half-whimsical, portraying imaginary brothers or their mothers. De Kooning's pictures of his mother, a formidable barmaid who raised him after his father disappeared, were probably destroyed.

By the 1940s de Kooning was established — though it did nothing for his finances in the enclosed world of the New York avant-garde. In 1942, he showed in the exhibition French and American Paintings, organised by Graham. Other artists in the display were Lee Krasner and her future husband Jackson Pollock, whom de Kooning now met for the first time. In the next five years de Kooning, his wife Elaine, whom he married in 1943, and the Pollocks made husband-and-wife painting teams in which the male partners were spurred on by intelligent and no less competitive women. Their eyes for new art were, in the phrase of the time, "in front of their husbands" — men who were utterly dedicated to painting but also occupied themselves with other aspects of bohemian life, mainly boozing and shouting at each other.

De Kooning did not have a one-man exhibition until 1948, the *annus mirabilis* of abstract expressionism as a whole. He was then 44. At the Egon Gallery he showed black-and-white canvases he had begun to produce in 1946. These turbulent paintings have been interpreted as Dantesque visions of modern life.

The Egon exhibition was a triumph. Its largest painting was sold to the Museum of Modern Art. Suddenly de Kooning was in demand. He was known as a violent existentialist, anguished and isolated. It is true that de Kooning's canvases bore the marks of struggle and reworking, but this was existentialism de luxe.

After the black-and-white series came sumptuous paintings in roused creams, floral pinks and well-judged yellows. Excavation, 1950, is known as the best of de Kooning's paintings. It dominated the Venice Biennale that year and was then given special prominence in the 1951 Moma exhibition Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America.

Was he really an abstract artist? After Excavation, de Kooning began Woman 1, the first of a number of series of Woman paintings. The first set are the most challenging. They are made of grandiose scrawls and gashes, including a collaged film-star mouth, and are obviously indebted to billboards. Titian and Soutine have also been mentioned.

The Sidney Janis Gallery showed the first Woman pictures in 1953, and then de Kooning's lavish and grandiloquent touch, which at its best was inimitable, suddenly appeared in a horde of lesser artists. Janis raised his prices and found new collectors.



De Kooning . . . 'a violent existentialist, anguished and isolated'

The years of de Kooning's fame coincided with the decline of abstract expressionism, but he held a level of personal achievement for some years. His paintings were of high quality until about 1957, when his wife left him, though they were later reconciled. But his paintings had begun to look inflated. The mood of the times turned away from his gesturalism. Quite suddenly, 1960s art isolated him.

DE KOONING'S response was typical of senior American artists in his position. He got out of New York, painted without reference to his contemporaries and communicated with the world through retrospectives.

A major painter's old age ought to bring special rewards to the artist, to his times and to posterity. Some maleficent god of the modern world denied these benefits to de Kooning. There were occasional paintings of majestic and lyrical power, yet the history of de Kooning's later art is of loss. The manner was similar but the new work lacked real authority.

De Kooning's loss of creative power when working on canvas may have prompted his interest in sculpture. In Rome in 1969 he made a few small figurines. Henry Moore, visiting Long Island a little later, told him how they might be enlarged. The resulting lumpy and twisted sculptures, shown in a return to the Janis gallery in 1972, were compared to the examples of Rodin and Giacometti. This was wrong. The most characteristic of them look, as it were, inside-out.

There were some 25 of de Kooning's sculptures. A survey of his three-dimensional work was organised by the Arts Council at the Serpentine Gallery in 1977. The most significant of his retrospectives was organised by the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1984. This subsequently travelled to Berlin and to Paris. Inevitably, the emphasis of the Whitney show was on the abstract expressionist period. In Europe, however, comparisons were made between de Kooning and baroque old-master painting.

The disastrous effect of Alzheimer's disease on de Kooning's painting has never been assessed. The most European of abstract expressionists appears now as a person who looked at the sea outside the Long Island studio and imagined that he could sail back to Rotterdam.

Tim Hilton

Willem de Kooning, artist, born April 24, 1904; died March 19, 1997

The horrors of long division

TELEVISION
Nancy Bank-Smith

WHEN Wallis Simpson was setting the British Empire on its ear, she was sometimes called in code The Lady From Baltimore. The Way of All Flesh (BBC2) produced by Adam Curtis, was about another Lady From Baltimore, who shook the world of science and still shakes it.

Henrietta Lacks was the great grand-daughter of a plantation owner and a slave. Her polished face smiles out of a cracked photograph. Even in curlers, she turned her head like a pretty woman.

Her friend Sadie says, "Oh my goodness! I don't think I could top her. She was beautiful and she used to dress real fancy." In 1951, raging cancer was diagnosed. Fred, her cousin, remembers: "She was sick. You could hear her sometimes all the way downstairs. 'Oh Lord! Oh Lord! I can't get no ease. Jesus help me! Help me!' "

A biopsy was sent to a Dr Gey, who had been trying and failing to keep cells alive in a test tube. Henrietta's cells lived but she died. In the mortuary Gey's assistant saw Henrietta had chipped red polish on her toenails and thought: "This was a live woman." Her cells not only lived, they flourished and multiplied. There are now billions in laboratories throughout the world. Scientists call them HeLa cells. Non-scientists call them She. She was sent into space to test zero gravity, irradiated in atomic tests, injected into criminals, fused with a white mouse. She produced a polio vaccine.

She was an invaluable lab animal. And she escaped. Extraordinarily virulent, invasive and vigorous, the HeLa cells reached and ruined scientific experiments from America to Russia. (You would swear she had a sense of humour. Leonard Hayflick, testing his own baby's tissue, found a black enzyme. Mrs Hayflick protested her innocence. It was Henrietta). For a long time her husband and children were unaware of any of this. They had buried her in an unmarked grave beside the log cabin where she was born. The woods will have taken over by now.

"Do you think . . . no!" Henrietta's cousin, Fred, stopped and started again, "Do you think those cells is still living in the *grave*?" I remember a gardening programme which, describing a compost heap, said "it is teeming with life that's come out of death in the dark".

And so has she.

In **Seven Wonders of the World** (BBC2) scientists describe seven things which seem marvellous to them. Aubrey Manning, Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh, is clearly one of those vivid teachers who ignite enthusiasm. The kind you remember.

He remembered his maths teacher. "I can see him now. A tall figure. He never had any discipline problems. He walked into a room and — silence. His name was Brown. A Brown. I never knew what A stood for." (Mr Brown, seen in a school photograph, wore what Conan Doyle called "the firm austere expression which is only seen upon those who have to control horses or boys".) He introduced Manning, no mathematician, to the square root of minus one. Now this (I hope you are not looking at me trustingly) is an imaginary number. Manning found it magical.

Now it happens that I had a maths teacher called Topsy. Not, God knows, to her face. I think she dreamed in figures. Once two of us went to early communion and I, soon weakened if parted from food, fainted. Topsy said 50 per cent of the school had fainted.

But now and then, when she was teaching, I literally saw a flash of light and for that split second thought I understood what maths meant. And that is a wonder.

Good looks no substitute for substance

DANCE
Judith Mackrell

TOO many American choreographers like to believe that dance requires very little packaging. They're not bothered how their dancers are costumed; some regard even music as an afterthought. By contrast, Yolande Snaith's *Gorgeous Creatures*, at London's The Place, is supremely confident and fabulously packaged. The piece is inspired by Elizabeth I, and its opening image presents Snaith (standing on a chair concealed beneath billowing crimson) as a regal giantess. Graeme Miller's score plays deconstructed lute music; Barnaby Stone's set looks like 16th century Heal's; and Snaith's five courtiers are costumed by Kei Ito and Suzanne Slack.

The cast spend the next 80 minutes locked into deviant games of love and death. Snaith flirts with her courtiers and executes them at a whim; while she's sleeping they rifle her closet for nighties and pearls. Her power is terrible and comic (she looks like a cross between Thatcher and Miranda Richardson in Blackadder), and she deploys it through imperious mime, hysterical mood changes and nightmarish alterations of shape. Sometimes she's looming over her men; sometimes she shrinks to a dwarf and whizzes alarmingly around their knees.

There's one major snag — the dance. Snaith limits her choreography to repetitive turns and rough-edged, overlong duets. The work thus veers wildly between tingling visual epiphanies and deadening boredom.

One look at David Dorfman's *Sky Down*, as performed by his New York-based company at the Woking Dance Umbrella, makes you want to frogmarch him to the record library, then team him up with a stylist.

Dorfman's choreography is sharply detailed and intriguingly edgy in mood. The five dancers flash glances of danger reinterpreted by the electric signals of their hands, and in climactic passages they take huge emotional leaps into sweeping lunges and turns. Yet the work is proof that even skilled choreography can't survive atrocious wrapping. Liz Prince's over-elaborate clothes quarrel floppily with the movement, while Amy Denio's score dumps all over the steps, with its homespun folksy tunes and portentous electronic spasms.

There is a redeeming conceit, however. The dancers periodically verbalise the emotional and practical subtext of their moves — one, for instance, saying to her partner, "Could you make that more of a hug?" The humour is unselfconscious and charming and the dialogue punchy. But as a comedy sketch it sits very oddly in a dance performance. In an ideal world, Dorfman would get rid of his packaging and Snaith would shed most of her dance.

Magus of the mask

Seamus Deane

W B Yeats: A Life. Volume I:
The Apprentice Mage 1865-1914
by Roy Foster
Oxford 672pp £25

INEVITABLY, the first of the two-volume biography of Yeats by Roy Foster makes the reader long for the second. For it is in the years after 1914 that so many transformations occur, when Yeats's political and occult interests are revised under the pressure of personal and public events to such an extent that he ceased to be a late Victorian poet whose companions are Swinburne, Hardy and Kipling, and became a modernist who wore his cultural rue with an authoritative and authoritarian difference. Nevertheless, the longing deserves to be deferred, for there is much here in the first volume that needs to be absorbed before the later career can be reconsidered.

Roy Foster has put an end to the legend that the ghost of WBY was displeased and determined to frustrate any attempt other than his own to provide an account of his life. In doing so he has shown how the greater legend of Yeats's own life was consciously and carefully created by the poet in such an exemplary fashion that the relationship between history and legend, embodied in himself, is itself one of the most important and contested issues of his era and generation. For the specific stories that dominate Yeats's life — his long affair with Maud Gonne, his friendship with Lady Gregory, the creation of the new Irish theatre, the decline of the Protestant ascendancy, the rise of Irish nationalism, the disputes between occultism and modernity — are constantly recreated in legendary terms by Yeats as episodes in a conflict between archetypal forces, in which Ireland is one of the crucial battlegrounds.

Yeats's "extraordinary life deserves to be studied for its relationship to his work; it also needs to be studied for its influence on his country's biography". The final phrase is telling, if a little odd. If Ireland has a biography, Yeats's life is an important, even a moulding, element in it.

This is a large claim. It is also a political gesture. For the story of Yeats is, in Foster's view, that of a "marginalised Protestant" who transmutes his peripheral into a central condition and modifies the narrow, corporate commitment of a largely Catholic nationalism with a countering belief in individual freedom, in "daring" and in the "unforeseen". Hence his distaste for "rhetoric", "opinion", the journalese of the mass mind, and his commitment to art and the radical individualism it embodied. In effect, this is "Protestant"; historically, this is the difference between Yeatsian nationalism and that of Young Ireland.

It is proper that Yeats is referred to throughout as WBY, for the famous initials remind us that this was a life conceived of in dramatic terms, a combat between the Man and the Masks (although the Yeatsian Mask is a means towards the discovery not the concealment of the self). Yeats recruited just about everybody he knew for a part in the drama he dominated. The "tragic generation" of the nineties, including Wilde and Lionel Johnson, his friends, Lady Gregory, John Millington Synge, Maud Gonne, Hugh Lane, Robert Gregory, even Shaw, another self-created persona known by his initials GBS, and the nefariously silky George Moore — all of these had assigned roles in the experiment which enacted the transformation of Willie Yeats, the son of JBY, the man who could finish nothing, into WBY, the artist who integrated and concluded everything.

In addition, they all exhibited that capacity for individuality that distinguished them from those whom fanaticism had made rigid — and these unfortunates are, for the most part, and predictably, separatists, nationalists, all those who surrendered intellectual freedom to a single objective and were obedient to the demands of a callow cultural vision of Ireland and of an arthritic Catholicism.

This is a drama in which the Protestant ascendancy lays claim to a spiritual and cultural leadership in Ireland, partly as substitute for its loss of political power. WBY's attacks on the philistinism of Victorian-British mass civilisation and the increasingly powerful democratic impulses of the modern era transferred easily to his parallel animus against Catholic nationalism, which he saw as the direct inheritor of a woefully impoverished modernity. It was only the ascendancy — which is really by then an aristocratic idea produced by middle-class Protestants — that could rescue Ireland from its commercial, Catholic and democratic future.



W B Yeats . . . The first volume of Foster's biography shows how the poet consciously and carefully created the legend of his own life

And then there was Maud Gonne, and the long but fertile "troubling" of his life by her. At the heart of this relationship there lay the sense of the rich individual life contradicted by the demands of fanaticism, of the collision between Protestant and Catholic traditions, of the "astral" destiny that not even the brutalities of politics and treachery — embodied in her marriage to the delinquent John MacBride — could cancel. Again, one must wait for the second volume to see the flowering of Yeats's sexual politics in relation to his convictions about ancestry, lineage, the family. But the foundations are here.

Until the publication of Volume Two, it may be said that the jury is still out. But that would be altogether too carping and ungenerous. This is an amazing work of scholarship, vitalised by the affinities between Foster and WBY, fastidiously controlled, wonderfully illuminating. May the next volume arrive soon!

This book is available at
a special price of £20 from
Books @ The Guardian Weekly

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

The Dustbin of History, by Greil Marcus (Picador, £6.99)

WHEN watching an NBC airing of "All You Need Is Cash", Eric Idle's spoof biopic of "The Rutles", Greil Marcus, chronicler of punk, Situationism, the Cabaret Voltaire, expert on British post-punk bleak 'n' industrial bands, and God knows what else, "got nervous". The parody was disturbingly acute. "My God, I thought, had I — and virtually everyone I knew — put so much of myself into so little?" It's typical of his honesty that he asks this question, which takes him to the brink of giving up his day job. A brink you can imagine him often skirting, considering he is an intellectual who writes about anti-intellectuals, a historian who writes about those who would destroy, or at least try to escape from, history. A lesser writer would not recognise this dilemma in writing about popular culture

Marcus does write about weightier matters: the Pentateuch, Nazism, Susan Sontag, and the question of "history as disappearance" (Ceausescu, the Berlin Wall) — and the results are sometimes curiously disappointing, for the very reason that his piece on Deborah Chessler, who more or less invented R&B, is thrilling: he has brought something previously hidden into the light of day, rather than write about something already in the public domain. But even when he does that he's better than most.

Climbing Mount Improbable, by Richard Dawkins (Penguin, £7.99)

"*WHAT* about the eye, then? Explain that, Mr Evolutionist", is the gauntlet thrown down by those rare Creationists who have IQs approaching three figures. Well, this is precisely what Dawkins does, along with all sorts of other unlikely things that evolution has thrown up over the aeons. The metaphor overused here is "Mount Improbable", and by the end of the book you get pretty fed up with hearing how many peaks it has and how gentle its foothills are, but this is a nugatory drawback to Dawkins's approachability and wisdom.

The Whisky Trails: A Traveller's Guide to Scotch Whisky, by Gordon Brown (Prion, £12.99)

A GUIDE to the routes from one distillery to the other: as if you're really going to schlepp all over the place looking at Schiels and Mashing tuns (although there are worse ways of spending one's time). It's really whisky porn: photographs of achingly beautiful countryside along with shots of pot stills full of "the best drink in the world", as Kingsley Amis correctly puts it in his foreword.

A new lease of Hellenic life

Veronica Horwell

Dinner with Persephone
by Patricia Storace
Granta Books 398pp £17.99

The River at the Centre of the World
by Simon Winchester
Viking 427pp £18

Istanbul
by John Freely
Viking 414pp £22.50

"*I LIVED* in Athens at the intersection of a prostitute and a saint." So Patricia Storace begins. Within a page, she sketches the ballroom-sized chandelier and the marble-sink-with-Ajax-cleanser in the apartment she took for a year, and I delightedly signed on with her in spirit for the full duration of her lease. In the first chapter she smells the chlorine-washed front hall, tastes ruby cherries at the farmers' market and hears what they cry there, *arômata kai khromata* — "perfumes and colours".

Her every sense is engaged. Mine, too. This is not only a sensual book; though that should be compliment enough since most books deny the senses, except perhaps sight. It dances easily into historic time past, personal time present, the calendar of the still shapely Greek year, the deepest meanings of language.

Storace can speak Greek but otherwise has no privileged access: she's no *milordi* with letters of introduction; the places she visits by bus and ferry, the tabloids and pop dreambooks she reads (they've inherited the literary DNA of classical Greece through the female line), are available to everyone. It's the poetry she makes of them that matters. Her language conveys that she was more alive in every moment of that year than she had been before, or perhaps might ever be again, day after day in the there-and-now buying a candle or caught in a smoky collision of Christ's funerals on Greek Great — Good — Friday.

I'd hoped for that kind of treat from Simon Winchester. Sorry, no go. He began his journey up the 3,964 miles of *Jiang*, The River, the Yangtse, by driving out through snow in New Hampshire to meet the exiled Chinese owner of Wang Hui's famed 17th century scroll painting of the Yangtse. Then he sought old and new river charts and manuals and hired beautiful, stroppy Lily from Dalian to translate and browbeat on his behalf, supplying her as requested with stout boots and a warm jacket "in a fresh colour".

All of which suggests a liveliness his book doesn't possess: I never felt he was really living, not alive, on the many craft which transported him from the continental sediments swooshing in the South China Sea beyond Woosung Bar up through the Three Gorges to a celebratory cigar smoked by a chilly headwater rill in Tibet. He has the history off pat of the cities passed, especially the lewd or violent details, and he certainly has the natural-born journalist's instinct to stride straight into a site with a no entry sign, ask impertinent questions and then surmise a bigger story than might be there. But not once did I feel that he was making it for love or curiosity: I always sensed the book contract.

He's good at imperial echoes: he scrambles muddily to find the defaced monument to a river navigator all the way from Framlingham in Norfolk and catches how that waterman felt about the Yangtse: but his own heart stays cool.

But if you visit Istanbul, you will appreciate John Freely's book. It's a formal history: the Byzantine emperors topple in procession and have their noses cut off, the Ottoman Sultans swagger their way forward. And the battered old physical city pokes and pushes itself through every page, from the 153 private bathhouses with drainage (into the Golden Horn — nothing changes) of early Byzantium to modern "houses built by night", shanty towns with their tenderly tended gardens in old feta cheese-cans.

Freely obviously walks the place often because he wants to and this shows in the simplest things, in a list of long-surviving streets: "the Street of a Thousand Earthquakes, the Alley of the Chicken That Cannot Fly, the Street of Nafi of the Golden Hair, the Street of Ibraham of Black Hell". That's not fancy, that's not romance; that's love.

A yarn to bowl you over

Steven Poole

The Collector Collector
by Tibor Fischer
Secker and Warburg 215pp £12.99

RARELY is the hero of a novel not a human being; even more rarely is it a bowl. Pots, urns, vases, ceramics, earthenware: the history of the literary uses of such receptacles, antique and ersatz, is a sorry one. Occasionally you get a Keats, a Stevens or a Plath, ambling by to take rubbings of some useful metaphors. But in this lurid, psychotropic comedy, Tibor Fischer uses a bowl as his narrator.

It is an antique, a Sumerian: the Ur-bowl, compared with which all other priceless examples are mere fakes. Ceramicking along consciously for thousands of years, it has seen it all. Now, in modern London, it finds itself in the hands of Rosa, a 26-year-old art expert who can see into its soul. True diviners of this sort being rare, the bowl is caught off guard, but manages to fob Rosa off with stories from its Technicolor mytho-history, while telepathically interrogating her own past, chocka with failed sex and disappointing boyfriends.

Imagine: what you know as inanimate artefacts are spying on your life. It's a coruscatingly good idea. Through the bowl's eyes we watch the disruption of Rosa's life as Nikki, a dishonest nymphomaniac backpacker, comes to stay, organising burglaries, seducing strangers and nicking the bowl itself several times. Rosa tries to fend off the attentions of disgusting old wealth-hoarder Marius, who wants to buy the bowl; she also takes regular trips to see the agony aunt whom she has imprisoned down a well. If the abysmal old hackette can't apply her talents to Rosa's specific frustrations, why should she enjoy her freedom? Meanwhile Nikki's past is catching up with her, in the shape of a terrifyingly huge, yet mystically gentle, woman called Lump, who has condor's wings attached to her white leather jacket.

What is a bowl to do? Although it can piece itself back together after being shattered, and in extreme situations morph to an entirely different appearance (say, that of a Bengal tiger), it cannot actually talk. For most of the novel it is a mere observer, although as the plot veers into serial-killer territory, it furnishes a handy *deus ex amphora*.

As if in satirical exaggeration of the motto of a certain Grecian urn — "Beauty is truth, truth beauty" — the bowl, whose character is that of a Nabokovian monomaniac, has spent most of its existence obsessively cataloguing the varieties of human seductions, falsehoods and physiologies. "Of bosom, there are two hundred and twenty styles, of buttocks, two hundred and eighty-four. I order. I know. I do my job." This prideful ceramic is always at the epicentre of history.

As anyone knows who has read Under The Frog and The Thought Gang, Fischer is a wordsmith of unique, eccentric brilliance, and his prose here is still startling, although the mania for phrasemaking rhymes is beginning to look a little unhinged. Though very short, this book is three sketchy novels stuffed into the space of one, and one hopes that Fischer is not about to disappear up his, admittedly bewitching, linguistic fundament. It is lewd, creatively hilarious and weirdly moving: the sort of novel you'd be intrigued to find sitting on your shelf, watching you in pregnant silence.

Me, myself, pi

Margaret Wertheim wants to change the way women look at science. **Katharine Viner** responds to the call

MARGARET WERTHEIM loves physics. She thinks it is "beautiful". At 10, she had a "mystical experience" when her teacher, Mr Marshall, told the class about the number known as pi; how everything you ever need to know about circles can be said in terms of pi. "It seemed to me a great treasure of the universe had been revealed," Wertheim says. "Everywhere I looked, I saw circles. At the heart of every circle was this mysterious number. It was in the shape of the sun and the moon and the earth; in mushrooms, sunflowers, oranges and pearls . . . All these things were united by pi, yet it transcended them all. I was enchanted." Which all sounds rather wonderful if your memories of school physics, like mine, constitute ripple tanks, balls on inclines and a man in grimy tweeds spouting formulae.

Margaret Wertheim, a smart and serious 38-year-old Australian former model living in the US, wants to change the way women look at science. Her new book, Pythagoras' Trousers: God, Physics And The Gender Wars, examines why physics has so often been regarded as a pursuit so sacrosanct, so divine, that it excludes women.

It is an issue highly relevant in Britain. Only one in five A level physics students is female, a figure that prompted a new initiative to get more girls into science. A report, Breaking The Mould, looks at ways to attract women to science, and concludes that "girls are alienated by the impersonal, value-free content of science . . . they prefer subjects that have a creative and socially relevant context."

Margaret Wertheim . . . 'At the heart of every circle was this mysterious number: I was enchanted'
PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

Wertheim agrees that context is crucial if women are ever going to be interested in physics and she has had much experience in making science more accessible. She wrote television documentaries in Australia, among them the highly successful Beyond 2000; her new book is almost defiantly readable, even for the non-scientist.

"We need to teach science in a way that shows it has some cultural and social context," she says. "When we roll balls down an inclined plane to learn about inertia and gravity, we need to learn at the same time what kind of questions Galileo thought he was addressing. We need to learn about his life and times, the discovery of the telescope and what that meant. And kids need to see how science relates to their lives today: for example, most people take electricity for granted, but if we didn't have Maxwell's equations, we wouldn't even be able to turn on a light."

Just as excluding, and the thesis of Wertheim's book, is the lofty, highbrow image of physics. "Physics is a science that has evolved out of the notion that the gods, or God, created the world according to mathematical equations, so that before the world existed, there was a mathematical blueprint in the mind of God," she says. "To discover those equations is to get into God's brain. And for the same reasons that our culture has always said being a priest is a male activity, so have we seen science in that way. Women have always had to fight for what is seen as divine knowledge and in this sense I think physics is the Catholic Church of science — the oldest, most orthodox, most inclined to exclude women."

Like priests, physicists have power. "Physics is portrayed as a search to understand the mind of God," she says. "That's an activity that has real cultural and social power." She considers science too esoteric and too self-regarding. "Physics sees itself as this abstract thing up on a pedestal. And as a result it tends to attract people who — to put it bluntly — have emotional problems. Who are not actually good at emotionally engaging with the work." It is not just the emotional detachment of the subject that discourages girls; it is also the cultural stigma. "When I was a kid, I loved Dr Who, but I used to say, why can't Dr Who be a girl? Eventually he got a female assistant, but she's always the assistant. This is a real problem. Studies around the world show that girls and boys are equally good at maths and science — until puberty. At puberty there's this huge drop, like lemmings falling off a cliff. And it happens at that crucial early teenage time, when being perceived as feminine becomes extremely important to girls. I've had girls tell me they stop doing well in those classes because the boys stop talking to them or start teasing them."

DID THIS never happen to her? Did she never feel put off by the image of the science-nerd? "I didn't," Wertheim says, "and I think it is because I was so quintessentially feminine. I was a very little child, I had a twin, we both had long hair — we were like little dollies. And I was very girlie. My femininity was so utterly not in question that I felt I had to demonstrate to the world, to myself — and to my father, who was a misogynist — that I was more than just a girlie girlie."

So girlie girlie was she that at 20, around the time she was studying for her two degrees (in physics and maths and computing), she made it to that pinnacle of success, the cover of Vogue in Australia. She scoffs when I mention this. "The only reason I got into modelling was because my sister and I were identical twins and we were a novelty. I did a couple of nice jobs but I never made any money out of it because I wasn't strapping and Australian enough." Nevertheless, as she sits in her pristine suit, looking petite, well-coiffed and "quintessentially feminine", it is clear that the perceived clash between science and girlishness is nonsense. If only my physics teacher could have been like her.

Pythagoras' Trousers by Margaret Wertheim is published by Fourth Estate at £9.99

Down on kids' row

Guardian Children's Fiction Prize

WITH a shortlist ranging from historical fiction and social satire to surreal fantasy and grim contemporary urban reality, judging of the Guardian Children's Fiction Prize was a complex process, *writes Joanna Carey*. Michael Morpurgo's enchanting The Butterfly Lion had ardent supporters — as did Chloe Rayban's very funny Love In Cyberia. But it was Melvin Burgess's book Junk, with its explosive cargo of contemporary teenage issues, that sailed in as the undisputed winner.

Confronting a subject generally given a wide berth by children's authors, Junk is about teenage drug addiction. But far from being simply "issue-driven", it is bold and cunningly structured with an unpatronising tone that makes it accessible to a wide range of older readers.

The story is set in a seedy area of Bristol in the 1980s. Gemma and her boyfriend Tar are 14-year-old runaways. Tar is the victim of domestic violence, but Gemma is simply rebellious — spoilt, selfish and impatient to be free of "boring" parental authority. Defiantly they go skidding into a downward spiral of squatting, thieving, drug addiction and, eventually, prostitution. Shocking and almost operatic in its tragic inevitability, but perceptive in its character development, the story is told in a kaleidoscopic succession of monologues as one by one Gemma and her companions take centre stage to deliver their uninhibited, subtly different accounts of events.

In addition to radio plays and short stories, Burgess has written eight novels for children and is no stranger to controversy. The Baby And Fly Pie — inspired by the "death squads" in South America — was about homeless children; Burning Issy explored witchcraft in the 17th century — he researched it in Lancashire where he now lives.

He is delighted by the award — "I thought I'd get flak for this book. Books written for kids, that try to make sense of the chaos out there, are viewed with suspicion. People in authority are too often nervous of their own judgment; wary of making the stuff available."

Junk reflects some desolate aspects of today's society, but there is at the end a speck of hope as the real meaning of freedom emerges. A provocative, purposeful novel, Junk offers no easy solutions, but it respects the intelligence of its readers, leaving them shaken, probably, but informed and ready to make their own judgments.

Junk is published by Andersen Press (£12.99). The other shortlisted books were Love In Cyberia, by Chloe Rayban; The Fated Sky, by Henrietta Branford; The Butterfly Lion, by Michael Morpurgo; Johnny And The Bomb, by Terry Pratchett; The Trokeville Way, by Russell Hoban; and Creepers, by Keith Gray

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Cricket Third Test: South Africa v Australia

Healy ban on Donald's great day

Paul Weaver in Pretoria

SOUTH AFRICA's cricket, hurled into anguished introspection by recent defeats, rediscovered something of its old chutzpah with this week's victory over Australia by eight wickets in the third and final Test at Centurion Park.

Australia had not beaten South Africa in a series for 40 years before they clinched this three-match series with victories in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, and their achievement spawned a rash of tortured inquests in local newspapers and radio stations.

Bob Woolmer, the national coach, made a weekend plea for domestic competition to be strengthened. Ali Bacher, managing director of the United Cricket Board, has just announced that a major overhaul of the Supersport Series, contested by nine provinces, will be proposed in April. There will almost certainly be a two-tier structure next season, with promotion and relegation.

On Monday, however, amid all the flag-waving and spilt Castle lager, all the earnest pathologists looked rather sheepish; well, perhaps this lot were not so bad after all.

The truth is that, when it mattered, Australia played the harder and better-crafted cricket in this series. But when they relaxed a little, as they did in this match, South Africa were good and combative enough to catch them off balance, for good though Australia are, theirs looks a lopsided team at times.

In Pat Symcox, Brett Schultz and Brian McMillan, South Africa also have the ideal men to call on once the order is given to fix bayonets.

"We seem to have this habit of losing dead rubbers," Australia's captain Mark Taylor said. "But it's a great habit to have. Long may it continue."

South Africa's Hansie Cronje, meanwhile, thanked Australia for ramming home some of the harsh facts of life at Test level. "They gave us a few lessons but I think we learned them. You need people with hard minds when you play Australia because, as Daryll Cullinan will confirm, they will tell you exactly how you got out last time and where you come from. You have to be mentally tough to play them. But we have shown they can be beaten," he said.

Howzat . . . Donald traps Waugh leg before wicket PHOTO: MIKE HEWITT

This was Australia's fourth defeat in nine Tests and their seventh in 17. Allan Donald, who took five for 36 and has now taken 41 wickets in eight Tests this winter, was named Man of the Match, and Steve Waugh, for the third consecutive time against South Africa, Man of the Series with 313 runs at 78. He finished with 60 not out.

Monday was Donald's day. Australia resumed on 96 for four, needing 61 more to make South Africa bat again. With the fifth ball of the day Donald blasted out Blewett's middle stump with a yorker. Australia never recovered, and South Africa knocked off the required 29 runs.

The day's main incident came at 131 for seven, when Ian Healy was given out caught behind. It was an awful decision because his bat was never close to the ball, but his animated disappointment was stamped on by the match referee Raman Subba Row, who banned him from the first two one-day internationals.

Scores: Australia 227 and 185 (Donald 5-36); South Africa 384 (Bacher 96; McGrath 6-86) and 32-2. South Africa won by eight wickets. Australia won the series 2-1.

Golf

Tears crown Olazábal's brave win

Michael Britten

A NOT SO OLD Master was restored to Europe's gallery of golf champions on Sunday when José Maria Olazábal won the Turespaña Masters in Gran Canaria. In only his third comeback tournament after a pain-racked 18 months away from the game, the Spaniard beat Lee Westwood by two strokes with a final round of 67 for a 20-under-par total of 272.

It was a victory that reduced the normally stoic 1994 US Masters champion to tears. "It was very difficult," he said after producing a birdie four at the 18th to sink the young Englishman's challenge. "You know I never express my feelings and . . . you can see it is impossible not to do so now."

Six months ago Olazábal, aged 31, thought he would end his life in a wheelchair, as he struggled to cope with what was originally diagnosed as rheumatoid arthritis. But a chance encounter in September led to a consultation with Dr Hans-Wilhelm Müller-Wohlfahrt, a German specialist in alternative medicine.

A course of treatment led to the Spaniard returning to competition in Dubai last month. His great skills undimmed, Olazábal finished 12th there and followed that with a fourth place in Portugal last week.

"I thought I would need more time to get back to my old level," he said. "My feet still hurt but after two tournaments in a row they have not got any worse and that is the most positive thing I will be taking to the United States [Masters] next month."

● Britain's Laura Davies became the first woman to win an LPGA event four years in a row after a sudden-death play-off with American Kelly Robbins in the Standard Register tournament at Phoenix, Arizona. She rolled in a three-foot putt for par to win at the first extra hole after Robbins failed to get up and down in two. Earlier, Davies, who received prize money of $125,000, fired a 68 to finish with a 15-under-par total of 277, but Robbins birdied the last to match her.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Porto clashes tarnish United's night of glory

MANCHESTER UNITED soaked up early pressure from FC Porto to hold the Portuguese champions to a goalless draw and ease into the semi-finals of the European Cup with a 4-0 aggregate win.

Peter Schmeichel was United's hero for making a number of superb saves to deny Porto. United's best chance came when David Beckham smashed a 35-yard free-kick against the bar. Eric Cantona missed a good late chance and was unlucky not to get a penalty. United next meet Borussia Dortmund in Germany on April 9. The other semi-final will be between Juventus and Ajax.

United's European glory was marred by clashes between their supporters and the Portuguese police before and after the match. Fifteen fans were treated in hospital and scores of others, including 21 policemen, received minor injuries. United supporters accused the police of over-reacting by using CS gas, baton charges and anti-riot plastic bullets to deal with the trouble. Uefa and the FA announced an inquiry into the trouble and the Foreign Office demanded an explanation from Portuguese authorities.

Liverpool were another English side making progress in Europe. They, too, had to suffer some nervous moments early in their European Cup Winners' Cup clash against SK Brann at Anfield before reaching their first European semi-final since 1985.

The Norwegian side caused a few scares after Robbie Fowler put the Reds in front with a penalty after 26 minutes. Tore Andre Flo looked menacing for the visitors until Stan Collymore netted Liverpool's second within minutes of coming off the substitutes' bench. Fowler then got his second shortly before time.

But while the Reds won 3-0, Newcastle United crashed out of Europe by the same margin to the classy French side Mónaco in the quarter-finals of the Uefa Cup at Monte Carlo. Sylvin Legwinsky put Monaco ahead just before half-time. Ali Benarbia put the game out of Newcastle's reach with a left-foot volley on 50 minutes and a blistering free-kick on 67.

The Magpies, without their leading strikers, Alan Shearer and Les Ferdinand, had gone into the match already a goal down at home to the opponents. They did little in attack and barely created a scoring chance.

ARSENAL are considering moving out of their historic Highbury home. Ideally, they would like to expand the current site to a 55,000-seat stadium, but as it is hemmed in by houses, plans to expand may prove too difficult. The club are looking into building a new stadium, possibly close to a motorway.

TIM HENMAN, the British No 1 tennis player, suffered a terrible slump in form as he crashed out in the first round of the ATP Lipton Championships in Key Biscayne, Florida. Henman, ranked 16 in the world and voted just days before by his APT fellow professionals the Most Improved Player for 1996, lost 6-7, 6-2, 6-3 to a 19-year-old qualifier, Julian Alonso of Spain, ranked 228.



A SUPERB and sustained performance earned Tara Lipinski (above) a place in record books in Lausanne when she became the youngest women's world figure-skating champion. The 14-year-old broke by one month the record set by Sonja Henie in 1927.

MICHAEL BRODIE took the vacant British super-bantamweight title when he knocked out the Welshman Neil Swain in a titanic fight in Manchester. The 22-year-old local boxer, who had never ventured beyond six rounds before, landed a big right hand on Swain, sending him crashing to the canvas in the 10th round, and referee Roy Frances thought it wiser not to take up the count. It had been a ferocious battle, and the medical team were quickly in the ring to treat Swain.

Rugby Union World Cup Sevens

England fail to live up to their billing

ENGLAND were left chastened by what their captain Tim Rodber called their "worst-ever sevens performance" in the World Cup in Hong Kong on Sunday. The 21-5 quarter-final defeat by Western Samoa meant the 1993 world champions were later frustrated figures on the sidelines as Fiji lifted the Melrose Cup after their 24-21 defeat of South Africa in the final.

The southern hemisphere nations dominated the final stages, with Fiji beating Western Samoa in the last four and the Springboks defeating New Zealand.

Rodber said: "We are very disappointed. The game was there to be won but for whatever reason we let ourselves down." England fell behind just before the end of the opening seven minutes when Brian Lima broke two tackles before sending in Terry Fanolua for the try. Lima then crashed over soon after the restart, before Afato Sooalo cut loose from just inside his own half to give the Samoans their third try.

Austin Healey's score in the corner in the dying seconds was no more than a consolation for an England side containing five of the players who triumphed in Murrayfield four years ago.

Fiji lifted the title after a recovering from a 14-point deficit in the final. Having conceded their first points of the tournament in the 38-14 victory over the Samoans, they gave away a similar number inside the first five minutes of the final.

Andre Venter crossed twice, with Stephen Brink converting both. Fiji, who had racked up 299 points in the six games on the way to the final, suddenly found it difficult to break through the well-marshalled cover.

But Marika Vunibaka finally managed it before the interval. Then three tries in a devastating five-minute burst clinched the trophy for Fiji. Luke Erenavula raced over and Lemeki Korol scored two tries in quick succession down the left flank. Brink hauled his side within three points when he converted his own try — *Agencies*

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP Blackburn 0 Aston Villa 2; Coventry 1 West Ham 3; Derby 4 Tottenham 2; Everton 0 Man Utd 2; Middlesbro 1 Chelsea 0; Sheff Wed 2 Leeds 2; Southmptn 2 Leicester 2; Sunderland 1 Nottm Forest 1; Wimbledon 1 Newcastle 1. Middlesbrough 1 Nottm Forest 1; Arsenal 1 Liverpool 2; **Leading positions:** 1, Man Utd (played 31-points 63); 2, Liverpool (31-60); 3, Arsenal (32-57).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE First Division Birminghm 1 Sheff Utd 1; Bradford C 2 Wolves 1; Grimsby 0 Tranmere 0; Huddersfld 0 Barnsley 0; Man City 2 Stoke 0; Norwich 0 Bolton 1; Port Vale 1 Swindon 0; QPR 2 Portsmth 1; Reading 1 Ipswich 0; Southend 2 Oxford 2; W.B.A. 1 Charlton 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Bolton (40-84); 2, Wolves (39-66); 3, Barnsley (37-64).

Second Division Blackpool 1 Bristol City 0; Bournemth 1 York 1; Bristol Rvrs 1 Preston 0; Bury 1 Chesterfld 0; Crewe 1 Peterboro 1; Gillingham 1 Wycombe 0; Millwall 0 Watford 1; Notts Co 1 Stockport 2; Plymouth 0 Wrexham 1; Shrewsbry 0 Rotherham 2; Walsall 1 Burnley 3. **Leading positions:** 1, Luton (36-61); 2, Bury (35-61); 3, Brentford (36-61).

Third Division Brighton 2 Cardiff 0; Cambridge 2 Chester 2; Fulham 1 Hartlepool 0; Hull 0 Carlisle 1; Leyton 2 Lincoln 3; Mansfield 1 Northmptn 0; Scarboro 3 Exeter 4; Swansea 1 Darlington 1; Torquay 1 So'thorpe 2; Wigan 2 Barnet 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Carlisle (38-76); 2, Wigan (39-74); 3, Fulham (38-74).

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE Premier Division Dunfrmline 2 Celtic 2; Dundee U 2 Raith 1; Hibernian 3 Aberdeen 1; Motherwell 0 Hearts 1; Rangers 1 Kilmarnk 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Rangers (31-71); 2, Celtic (31-64); 3, Dundee Utd (31-56).

SCOTTISH LEAGUE First Division Clydebank 0 Dundee 0; Falkirk 3 East Fife 1; Partick 0 Morton 3; St Johnstn 1 Stirling A 1; St Mirren 1 Airdrie 2. **Leading positions:** 1, St Johnstn (30-62); 2, Airdrie (30-52); 3, Dundee (30-50).

Second Division Ayr 1 Dumbarton 1; Berwick 1 Brechin 0; Clyde 0 Livingston 1; Hamilton 1 Stenhsmr 1; Queen Sth 1 St'raer 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Ayr (30-65); 2, Hamilton (29-57); 3, Livingston (29-54).

Third Division Arbroath 0 Inverness 0; Cowdnbth 1 Forfar 2; Montrose 0 Albion 4; Queens Pk 0 Alloa 4; Ross Co 1 E Stirling 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Inverness (30-67); 2, Ross Co (30-53); 3, Forfar (30-51).

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 30 1997

Football Premiership Everton 0 Manchester United 2

Tired United stay on victory road

Paul Wilson

MANCHESTER UNITED are now finding the Premiership too easy. Their fans chanted exactly that message to a silent Goodison crowd towards the end of this comfortable victory in language too forthright to repeat here, and the home supporters took the provocation on the chin. They were all too aware it was perfectly true.

Alex Ferguson, however, is of the opinion that the Football Association are making life needlessly difficult. Already on a collision course with Glenn Hoddle, having withdrawn Pallister, Beckham and Gary Neville from the England squad for Saturday's friendly against Mexico, the United manager is demanding an extension to the season to avoid playing his final four Premiership fixtures in the space of seven days.

"It is totally unfair to ask a team to play four demanding games in that space of time," Ferguson said.

He described the 2-0 win which gave his side a six-point lead at the top of the table and increased Everton's relegation worries at the bottom as "a major, major result for us". This may have been out of kindness to his friend Joe Royle, since Everton were the sort of opponents he probably wouldn't mind meeting four times in a week.

Perhaps United did feel the strain of their midweek exertions, and they looked ready for a fortnight's rest. With only Solskjaer foraging up front and Cantona mooching moodily just ahead of midfield, their demeanour suggested they simply wanted to avoid another embarrassment like the defeat which Sunderland inflicted after the first leg of the European Cup quarter-final.

Everton may be only a few points above Sunderland in the table, but when it comes to seizing their moment they are not in the Peter Reid class. The dogs of war are now house-trained, with a reputation for rolling over. Everton managed a nominal period of pressure before the opening goal, but it amounted only to a succession of corners and crosses which mostly failed to find the head of Ferguson.

Ferguson, one of the few Everton players who showed not only imagination but glimpses of aggression, was booked in the first half for being careless with his elbows in the vicinity of May's face. The tall Scot is still Everton's most effective attacking weapon, but to his obvious frustration he seems to be expected to start attacks as well as get on the end of them.

United eventually tired of comfortably repulsing half-hearted attacking attempts and went up the field to score with one of their own. Keane had sent a rising drive just over the bar on the half-hour by way of warning, but when Schmeichel launched a long free-kick forward two minutes later Everton simply caved in down the middle. Cantona leapt with Unsworth and won the flick-on, which fell to Solskjaer on the edge of the Everton area. Controlling the ball with his usual reliable touch and turning past Watson as he did so, the Norwegian rolled in a low shot of no great power but commendable accuracy which caught Gerrard unawares. The new goalkeeper did not have the best of days and will particularly hate turning over this attempted save in his mind.



Everton midfielder Parkinson raises his game to get the better of United's Giggs at Goodison Park PHOTO: SHAUN BOTTERILL

Even at that stage it was evident the match was as good as over. Everton were unable to step up their attacking efforts perceptibly until a point in the second half when it was too late, Speed only bringing a fine reaction save from Schmeichel after the visitors had been gifted another goal. Ferguson saw a shot go just wide and Rideout, a half-time replacement for the disappointing Thomsen, sent a close-range header over from a corner, but even these attempts were stretching Everton to breaking point.

Keane should really have scored after an hour when Cantona sent him clear on goal after a classically executed break out of defence, but the Irishman showed too much of the ball to Gerrard, who was obliged to save in similar circumstances from Beckham five minutes later. The inevitable second goal arrived 11 minutes from the end when Beckham sent over a wicked cross from the right, a curling ball which Gerrard thought he could come out and claim but realised too late that he couldn't.

The goalkeeper, Watson and Barrett bumped into each other beneath the cross but failed to prevent it reaching Cantona, who guided it home. Beckham only just crossed in time, for two minutes later he was limping off in response to the bench holding up his number. Pallister, another United player in the England squad, had departed in exactly the same way four minutes after the first goal. This is what some people would call an odd coincidence, especially as Ferguson confirmed that the pair, plus the sidelined Gary Neville, would not be available to face Mexico at Wembley, though Pallister's injury at least seems real enough.

"He's torn his groin and he'll be struggling to be fit for us in the European Cup semi-final," Ferguson said. "Neville and Beckham will not be fit to play against Mexico either."

Under FA rules, players called up for national duty should report to the England base and return home only after being examined by their own doctor. But Ferguson said: "They have no chance of playing so they will be staying at home and having treatment at the club."

Rugby League Challenge Cup semi-final

Hand of Saint upsets Reds

Paul Fitzpatrick

IF ANDY GREGORY becomes the next Great Britain coach, and he appears to be the strong favourite, he will only invite trouble if he criticises referees in public.

The Salford Reds' coach stopped short of giving Stuart Cummings both barrels after his side's 50-20 defeat by St Helens at Central Park last Saturday, but he could not hide his disenchantment with one of the game's most highly rated officials.

There were several debatable decisions in an eventful game, and Cummings did appear to misread an important play in the final minute of the first half when Salford, thanks to two penalties from Blakeley, were only 8-4 down.

He decided that the Salford full-back Rogers had got a hand to Martyn's steepling kick, but the hand almost certainly belonged to a Saint; and was Prescott not offside anyway? Saints received six more tackles and Joynt, selling a neat dummy close to the line, scored a try which left Briers with a simple conversion. Salford trooped off to the dressing rooms with a possible injustice gnawing at their minds — and facing a deficit which had grown to a dispiriting 14 points.

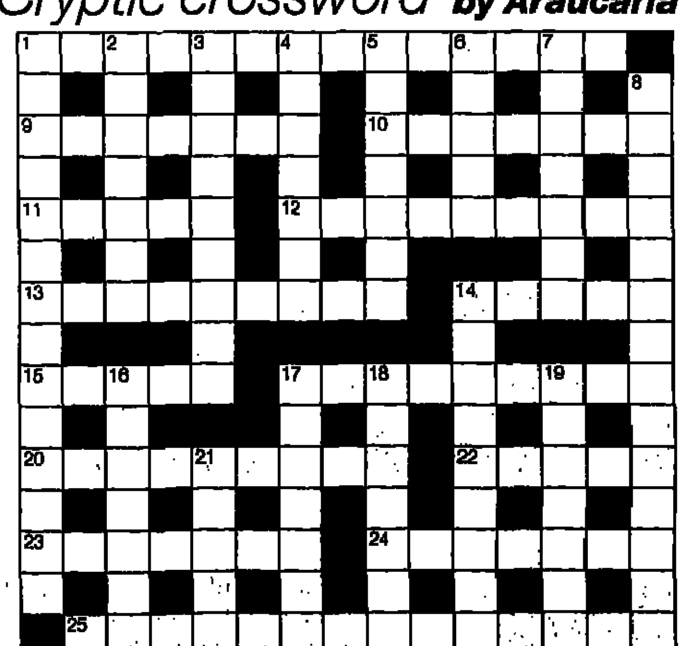
"It was hard to lift the lads after that," said Gregory. However, he added diplomatically, "but it was not that one decision that decided the game. St Helens are a great side."

Blistering finishing by Saints brought three tries apiece for Hunte and Sullivan but neither got the Man of the Match award. That went to the young hooker Keiron Cunningham, whose massive contribution to the victory was emblazoned by a memorable try. But even Cunningham could consider himself a little lucky to take the £300 prize ahead of Karle Hammond, a gifted 22-year-old loose forward who has rarely played with greater verve.

Cunningham's 60-metre run in the 58th minute represented a crippling blow to Salford in the second half as Joynt's try had been in the first. The floodgates opened and Sullivan briskly completed his hat-trick with two tries in three minutes.

By the end, in spite of defiant tries from Rogers and McAvoy, the Reds were 30 points adrift. But this was no humiliation for the Super League newcomers. So many Saints scores had their origins in errors that Salford might have got away with last season. They must reduce them, but this side is talented enough

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Across

1 Why, one wonders, produce Travels of a Rotter, Volume II? (8,6)
9 Queen Bess with little money about? You cannot be ________ (7)
10 Fortune left to head of church? (7)
11 A bit of a pain for the cast, say (5)
12 Giant with broken leg to fight on TV (6-3)
13 Lolita? See if that's Tom or not (3-6)
14 A brush with the grave? (5)
15 Topping vicar's crime (5)
17 County premier or old soldier in the wind (4-5)
20 Sailor with girl soldier had first? Trouble afoot (9)
22 Drawn towards marriage? (5)
23 Old soldier, not the mot juste for huntsman (7)
24 Be like one's fellows — see how they run (7)
25 Winner's sense of cinema needs sweetening (5,2,7)

Down

1 Cockney employing savages at his works? Not good enough (14)
2 What's wrong with the farceur? A moth in a twist? (7)
3 Temporary African owing to Cecil Smith? (9)
4 When to shoot a round at wild things? (2,5)
5 Slimy secretion fellows outside turn to smoke (7)
6 Need to catch up in Nature's way? (5)
7 Rodent without transport, in a word (7)
8 A law, also about councils, with one or two authors (9,5)
14 Jewish and Arab hold on minimum shift in scale (9)
16 Bondage is disturbing for Democrats (7)
17 Smoke going both ways to wind instrument (7)
18 More money than that in 9 is for a boy (7)
19 Maxilla? Speak good English (7)
21 A levy of coral (5)

Last week's solution

